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NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

&c. &c.

CHELSEA

Hopwood sculp.

Rt. Hon. Lord Nelson.

THE

NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

COMMENCING WITH THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF HISTORY, AND
CONTINUED TO THE EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS, UNDER
THE COMMAND OF LORD EXMOUTH, IN 1816.

INCLUDING THE

HISTORY AND LIVES

OF

THE BRITISH ADMIRALS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

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COMPRISING ALSO

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE ADMIRALS AND OTHER NAVAL OFFICERS
OMITTED BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL, OR WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED
THEMSELVES SINCE THE TIME OF THAT AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATED

WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS, PLANS OF IMPORTANT
ACTIONS, &c.

Dedicated, by Permission, to His Royal Highness the
PRINCE REGENT.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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UPON the demise of King James, his only son Charles prince of Wales succeeded him, not only quietly, and without disturbance, but with the general approbation of his subjects. He was in the flower of his age, had shewn himself a person of great abilities, and, after the breaking off the Spanish match, had rendered himself for a time very popular by his conduct.* His father left him in a situation much incumbered at the time of his decease; for the government was deeply in debt, a war with Spain was just begun, and his prime minister, the duke of

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* See the Parliamentary History of England, vol. vi. where the whole of the business relating to the Spanish match, the share the prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham took therein in parliament, and the effects it produced, are very ably as well as accurately treated.

Buckingham, who had been likewise his father's, was generally hated. In this sad state of public affairs, every thing was subject to wrong constructions. Eight thousand men, raised for the service of the Palatinate, were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth, and, in their passage thither, coat and conduct money were demanded of the country to be repaid out of the Exchequer. The behaviour of these troops was very licentious, and the long continuance of peace made it appear still a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high, and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commission for executing martial law, which instead of being considered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance more heavy than any of the rest.

The truth was, that while Buckingham remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him, and the nation was so prejudiced against him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him was held a grievance; and though no man saw this more clearly than the king, yet, by an infatuation not easily to be accounted for, he trusted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

The king's marriage with the Princess Henrietta-Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the lifetime of King James, and after his decease the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of June, 1625, Buckingham went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover; from thence she came to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated; and, on the 16th of the same month, their Majesties entered London privately, the plague daily increasing in the suburbs. It was not long before an unfortunate transaction rendered this marriage disagreeable to the people; and, as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we shall, therefore, handle more at large, because in most of our general histories it is treated very confusedly.

The Marquis D'Effiat, ambassador from France to King James, had represented to his Majesty, that the power of the Catholic king in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that his master was equally inclined with his Britannic Majesty to curtail it, but, wanting a sufficient maritime force, was desirous of borrowing from his Majesty a few ships to enable him to execute the design he had formed against Genoa. To this the king condescended, and it was agreed, that the great Neptune, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and six merchant ships, each of between three and four hundred tons burden, should be lent to the French; but, soon after this agreement, the Rochellers made application here, signifying, that they had just grounds to apprehend, that this English squadron would be employed for destroying the Protestant interest in France, instead of diminishing the king of Spain's power in Italy.

The duke of Buckingham, knowing that this would be little relished by Captain Pennington who was to go out admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ships, he gave them private instructions, contrary to the public contract with France, whereby they were directed not to serve against Rochelle; but, upon their coming into a French port in the month of May, they were told by the duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to serve, and should serve against Rochelle; upon which the sailors on board the fleet signed what is called by them, a Round Robin, that is, a paper containing their resolution not to engage in that service, with their names subscribed in a circle, that it might not be discerned who signed first.

Pennington, upon this, fairly sailed away with the whole squadron, and returned into the Downs in the beginning of July, from whence he sent a letter to the duke of Buckingham, desiring to be excused from that service. The duke, without acquainting the king, or consulting the council, directed Lord Conway, then secretary of state, to write a letter to Captain Pennington, commanding him to put all the ships into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the duke surreptitiously, and without the king's knowing any thing of the design upon Rochelle, procured his letter to Captain Pennington to the same effect. Upon this, in the month of August, he sailed a second time to Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the merchant ships were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ship, weighed anchor and put to sea; and so honest were all the seamen on board these ships, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to England; but, as for the ships they remained with the French, and were actually employed against Rochelle, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high dishonour of the nation. This affair made a great noise, and came at last to form an article in an impeachment against the duke of Buckingham.

In the mean time, the design still went on of attacking and invading Spain, and a stout fleet was provided for that purpose; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord high admiral, had the supreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not so much displeased at its miscarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and those who by his influence were intrusted with the command of the fleet, and the forces on board it. The whole of this transaction has been very differently related, according to the opinions of those who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs remaining, and from these I shall give as concise and impartial a detail of the affair as I can, which will shew how dangerous a thing it is for princes to employ persons disagreeable to the greatest part of their subjects, an error by which they almost necessarily transfer the resentment attending their miscarriages upon themselves.

This war with Spain was chiefly of the duke of Buckingham's procuring, and seems to have proceeded more from his personal distaste to Count Olivarez, than any solid or honourable motive; however, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been prosecuted, because, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it visibly served his own particular purposes, yet without question the nation had been grievously injured by the Spaniards, and there were therefore, sufficient grounds for taking all the advantages which our naval power and our alliance with the Dutch gave us, as well as the weakness of the enemy, and their firm persuasion, that, whatever we might pretend, we should not actually proceed to hostilities. But though it was his own war, though he had engaged the king to prosecute it with much heat, to draw together a great fleet, and a considerable body of forces which were to embark on board it, yet when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of going to sea, the duke declined the command, and resolved to send another person in his stead, which had a very ill effect upon the whole design.

Sir Edward Cecil, grandson to the great Lord Burleigh, was the person of whom the duke made choice for this command; an old soldier, it is true, but no seaman, and therefore not at all qualified for the supreme direction of such an undertaking. The earls of Essex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear admirals; and, that he might be the fitter to command men of such quality, he was created baron of Putney, and viscount Wimbleton, and had likewise the rank of lord-marshal. It was thought strange, that though there wanted not many able seamen, such as Sir Robert Mansell, Sir William Monson, and others, yet none of them were intrusted, but merely such as were in the duke's favour, which was both an unreasonable and an impolitic thing.

The force employed was very considerable, *viz.* eighty ships English and Dutch, and ten good regiments; neither was it at all improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the king and his ministry. The Spanish Plate-fleet was then returning home with above a million on board; and, if they had gone to Tercera they must infallibly have been masters of them, and by the destruction of fifty or sixty galleons, would have disabled the maritime power of Spain for at least a century. But the fleet did not sail till October, and then they went upon no settled scheme, but all was left to the discretion of men, who in reality were no fit judges of such matters, and besides were very soon, in point of opinion, divided among themselves.

The general sailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but, when the fleet had proceeded some leagues to sea, their ships were separated by a storm, so that they were many days before they came together to their appointed rendezvous off Cape St. Vincent. On the 19th of October a council was held, wherein it was resolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did on the 22d of October. The earl of Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies; these he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port-Real, whither the lord-marshal did not think fit to follow them. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntal was taken; after which they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town. The soldiers, unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to reimbark their forces; and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the Flota.

The men by this time grew sickly, and by the strangest management that ever was heard, that is, distributing the sick under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ship, the whole fleet was infected, and that to such a degree, as scarcely left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour themselves; all which was foreseen, nay, and foretold, too, before the fleet left England. On their return a charge was exhibited against the general by the earl of Essex, and nine other officers of distinction: Lord Wimbleton justified himself in a long answer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate, that want of experience, and, which was worse, want of unanimity, proved the ruin of this expedition.* These proceedings increased the people's discontents, exposed the duke, if possible, to still greater odium, and lessened the reputation of our naval force, which quickly produced, as under like circumstances will be always the case, numerous inconveniencies.

While the clamour still subsisted on the want of success attending the fleet abroad, the duke of Buckingham fell into another error in the execution of his office, as lord high-admiral at home. He was vexed at the noise that had been made about the merchant ships put into the hands of the French, and employed against Rochelle, and therefore took occasion, in the latter end of the year 1626, to cause a French ship called the St. Peter, of Havre de Grace, to be arrested. The pretence was, that it was laden with Spanish effects; which, however, the French denied, and asserted, that all the goods in the ship belonged to French merchants, or to the English and Dutch. Upon this a commission was granted to hear evidence as to that point, and it appearing plainly that there was no just ground of seizure, the ship was ordered to be, and at last was released, but not before the French king had made some reprisals, which so irritated the nation, that this also was made an article in the duke's impeachment. The matter, however, was compromised between the two kings, and the good correspondence between their subjects for a time restored; but at the bottom there was no cordial reconciliation: and so this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again, with worse symptoms than before.

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* The officers' charge and Lord Wimbleton's answer are printed in the genuine works in verse and prose of the right honourable George Lord Landsdowne, vol. iii. edit. 1736. The reader, who shall compare these with Sir William Monson's Reflections on this lord's conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea-command, and his officers no inclination to obey him.

The war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the restitution of the Palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to send a squadron of ships to that king's assistance; and this being attended with small success, he was called upon for further supplies. His parliaments all this time were little inclined to assist him, because he would not part with Buckingham; and this obliged him to have recourse to such methods for supply as his lawyers assured him were justifiable. Amongst the rest, he obliged all the sea-ports to furnish him with ships: of the city of London he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion.

The inhabitants thought this so hard, that many who had no immediate dependence on trade were for quitting their residence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct of theirs made the burden still more intolerable upon those who stayed behind, and the consequence of their remonstrances was, a proclamation, requiring such as had quitted the sea-coast to return immediately to their former dwellings: and this it was which gave rise to the first disturbances in this unfortunate reign. They were quickly increased by the rash management of Buckingham, who, though he saw his master so deeply embarrassed with the wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with France, very precipitately, and against all the rules of true policy.

The queen's foreign servants, who were all bigotted Papists, had not only acted indiscreetly in matters relating to their religion; but had likewise drawn the queen to take some very wrong, to say the truth, some ridiculous and extravagant steps; upon which Buckingham engaged his Majesty to dismiss her French servants, which he did the first of July, 1626, and then sent the Lord Carleton, to represent his reasons for taking so quick a measure, to the French king. That monarch refused him audience, and to shew his sense of the action, immediately seized one hundred and twenty of our ships, which were in his ports, and undertook the siege of Rochelle; though our king had acted but a little before as a mediator between him and his Protestant subjects. Upon this the latter applied themselves to King Charles, who ordered a fleet of thirty sail to be equipped for their relief, and sent it under the command of the earl of Denbigh: but this being so late in the year as the month of October, his lordship found it impracticable to execute his commission, and so after continuing some time at sea in hard weather, returned into port, which not only disappointed the king's intention, but also injured his reputation; for the Rochellers began to suspect the sincerity of this design, and doubted whether he really intended to assist them or not.

The duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of dispute, caused a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of seven thousand men to be put on board it, resolving to go himself as admiral and commander in chief. He sailed from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the island of Rhe; though at first he intended to have made a descent, on Oleron, and actually promised so much to the duke of Soubise, whom he sent to Rochelle to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their relief. They received this message coldly; for the French king having corrupted some by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power, the Rochellers were now afraid to receive the very succours they had demanded.

The duke landed his troops on the last of July, not without strong opposition from Mr. De Toyras, the French governor, whom he forced to retire, though with some loss. Upon this occasion, the English fell into the very same errors in conduct which they had committed in the Cadiz expedition. The fort of La Pré, which covered the landing-place, they neglected, though the French themselves, in their fright, had slighted it; so that it might have been taken without any trouble, and was a place of so great consequence, that if it had been in the hands of the English, it would have prevented the French from introducing any supplies. At first, it is certain, the French court was exceedingly alarmed, and, it is said the king fell sick upon it; but their terrors quickly diminished, when they were informed that the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and at the same time, too much pride to take advice.

The town of St. Martin's, however, was speedily taken by the English, and his grace then invested the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in managing the siege. At first, he quartered his troops about the place without entrenching, which at last, however, he was forced to do; then he entered into conferences with the governor, and refusing to communicate the substance of them to his officers, discouraged his own people, and enabled the French to deceive him by a sham treaty; during which, the fort received a considerable supply. By this time the Rochellers had declared for the English, their confidence being as unseasonable for themselves, as their suspicions had been before for their friends; for this declaration of theirs, and the expectation he had of succours from England, which were to be sent him under the command of the earl of Holland, engaged Buckingham to remain so long in his camp, that his troops were much diminished.

At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general assault; when it appeared that the place was impregnable, at least to forces under such circumstances as his were. Two days after he resolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made in the sight of an enemy as strong in foot, and more numerous in horse than themselves, over a narrow causeway, with salt-pits on each side: yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or so much as throwing up an intrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage; by which mistake and neglect, the army was so much exposed, that abundance of brave men were killed, which the best accounts now extant, sum up thus: fifty officers of all ranks, two thousand common soldiers, and thirty-five volunteers of note. With equal shame and loss, therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the ninth of the same month, and sending the poor Rochellers a solemn promise, that he would come back again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To complete his misfortunes, as he entered Plymouth he met the earl of Holland with the promised succours sailing out, who now returned with him. There never was, its immediate effects and future consequences considered, a more fatal undertaking than this. It was highly prejudicial to the king, and entirely ruined the duke. The merchants were discouraged from carrying on trade by impressing their ships; and the treasury was so little in a condition to pay the seamen, that they came in crowds, and clamoured at Whitehall.

To remedy those evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there passed nothing but disputes between the king and the commons; so that at last it was prorogued without granting supplies. The king, however, exerted himself to the utmost, in preparing a naval force to make good what the duke of Buckingham had promised to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view, a fleet of fifty sail was assembled at Plymouth in the spring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of Denbigh, who was brother-in-law to Buckingham, and who sailed from that port on the 17th of April, coming to anchor in the road of Rochelle on the 1st of May. On his arrival he found twenty sail of the French king's ships riding before the harbour, and being much superior in number and strength, he sent advice into the town, that he would sink the French ships as soon as the wind came west, and made a higher flood. About the 8th of May the wind and tide served accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and solicited that deliverance. But the earl, without remembering his promise, or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor and sailed away, suffering four of the French ships to pursue, as it were, the English fleet, which arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of May.

This second inglorious expedition was still a greater discouragement to the poor Rochellers, and increased the fears and jealousies of a Popish interest at home. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but captain in the English fleet, gave in depositions before the mayor of Plymouth on the 16th of May, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of the late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of Plymouth, and the two burgesses of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table, from whence a letter was directed to the duke of Buckingham as lord high-admiral, dated the 30th of May, 1628, to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that the earl of Denbigh should return back to relieve the town of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ships prepared at Portsmouth and Plymouth. But, notwithstanding this order of council, no such return was made, nor any inquiry into the disobedience of the king's order for it.

Notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the cries of the Rochellers, and the clamours of the people were so loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now, by a close siege, reduced to the last extremity. The duke of Buckingham chose to command in person, and, to that end, came to Portsmouth, where, on the 23d of August, having been at breakfast with Soubize, and the general officers, John Felton, late lieutenant of a company in a regiment of foot under Sir John Ramsay, placed himself in an entry through which the duke was to pass, who, walking with Sir Thomas Frier, and inclining his ear to him in a posture of attention, Felton, with a back blow, stabbed him on the left side into the very heart, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke pulled out with his own hand, and then fell down, saying, "The villain hath killed me!" Felton slipped away, and might have gone undiscovered; but while the general rumour was, that the murderer must be a Frenchman, and some began to suspect Soubize as a party in it, Felton boldly stepped out, and said, "I am the man who did the deed; let no man suffer that is innocent." Upon which he was apprehended, and sent prisoner to London.

This accident did not prevent the king's prosecuting his design; the very next day his Majesty made the earl of Lindsey admiral, Monson and Mountjoy vice and rear-admirals; and, as an illustrious foreign writer assures us, his care and presence had such an effect in the preparing for this voyage, that more was dispatched now in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before: which is a demonstrative proof of two things, of which many of our writers of history have affected to doubt, *viz.* that the king was hearty in his design, and that the Rochellers were convinced of it. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet sailed the 8th of September, 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the boom raised to block up the entrance of the port so strong, that, though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain, so that the Rochellers were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually surrendered the place on the 18th of October, the English fleet looking on, but not being able to help them; and, to complete their misfortunes, the very night after the city was given up, the sea made such a breach as would have opened an entrance for the largest ship in the English fleet. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with France, though a peace was not made till the succeeding year.*

From this time, the French began to be ambitious of raising a maritime power, and to be extremely uneasy at the growth of the English shipping. This was the effect of Richlieu's politics, who understood the different interests of the several European powers, and how to manage them, so as to make them subservient to the ends of France, better than any minister that nation ever had, or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of Christendom, ever will have. He brought in the Swedes to destroy the power of the House of Austria in Germany, and had address enough to engage us to assist in that design, upon the plausible pretence of favouring the Protestant interest. Then his agents in Holland very dextrously infused a jealousy of our dominion over the narrow seas, our claim to the sole right of fishing, or permitting to fish in them, and respecting the honour of the flag, at a considerable distance from our own shores. After these notions had been a while the subjects of common discourse among the Dutch, the famous Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatise under the title of MARE LIBERUM, wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to shew the weakness of our title to dominion over the sea; which, according to his notion, was a gift from GOD, common to all nations.

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* The duke of Rohan wrote a very long and pathetic letter to the king, which the reader will meet with in Rushworth's collections, under the year 1629, imploring his further aid on the behalf of the reformed churches in France, prior to the treaty of peace; but his Majesty, as he informed that nobleman in his answer, having been constrained to dissolve the parliament, from whom he expected supplies, being in no condition to contribute any farther assistance thereto, recommended it to him, and those interested, to make the best terms they could with the court of France.

This was answered by Selden, in his famous treatise, intitled, MARE CLAUSUM; wherein he has effectually demonstrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired, and from the most authentic histories, that such a dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by several nations, and submitted to by others for their common benefit: that this in fact was the case of the inhabitants of this island, who, at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed such a dominion, which had been confessed by their neighbours frequently, and in the most solemn manner. All which, with learning, industry, and judgment superior to praise, this great man hath fully and unquestionably made out for the satisfaction of foreigners, as it is the design of this work, if I may be allowed to mention it in the same page with Mr. Selden's, to impress the same sentiment on the minds of all sensible Britons, *viz.* "That they have an hereditary, uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of their seas, conveyed to them from their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity." This book of Mr. Selden's was published in 1634, and by the countenance then, and afterwards, shewn by King Charles towards this extraordinary performance, we may fairly conclude, that he had very just and generous notions of his own and his people's rights in this respect, though he was very unfortunate in taking such methods as he did to support them.

The French minister persisted steadily in his Machiavellian scheme, of using the power and industry of the Dutch, to interrupt the trade, and lessen the maritime force of Britain. With this view also, a negociation was begun between that crown and the States of Holland, for dividing the Spanish Netherlands between them; and under colour of thus assisting them, in support of their pretensions to an equal right over the sea, and in promoting their trade, to the prejudice of ours, Richlieu carried on secretly and securely his darling project, of raising a naval force in France; to promote which, he spared neither pains nor expence, in procuring from all parts the ablest persons in all arts and sciences any way relating to navigation, and fixing them in the French service, by giving them great encouragement.

Our king formed a just idea of his design, and saw thoroughly into its consequences, which he endeavoured to prevent, by publishing proclamations for restraining shipwrights, and other artificers, from entering into foreign service; for asserting his title to the sovereignty of the sea, and for regulating the manner of wearing flags. If to these precautions he had joined a reasonable condescension to the temper of his subjects, in dismissing from his service such as were obnoxious to them, either through their arbitrary notions, or bad behaviour, and had thereby fixed them, and their representatives, firmly in his interest, without doubt he had gained his point, and carried the glory of this nation higher than any of his predecessors. But his want of skill in the art of gaining the affections of the people, and, to speak without reserve, that want of true public spirit in some who were now esteemed patriots by the people, prevented the good effects of the king's laudable intentions, and turned what he meant for a cordial, into a corrosive poison.

I am far from affecting an allegorical style; but there are some things of so nice a nature, and the tempers of men are in some seasons so strangely turned, that it is not expedient either for them to hear, or for the historian to tell, even truth too bluntly. Yet it is equally dangerous, on the other hand, for one who undertakes such a task as this, to be afraid of delivering his sentiments freely, even supposing his fears to flow from an apprehension of injuring, what he thinks it his duty to recommend. Under a strong sense, therefore, of what in one respect it becomes me to say, for the service of my country, and what in regard to the opinions of very great men, who have thought in another way, it is unfit for me to shew myself positive; I come now to speak of ship-money, a subject exceedingly tender at the time it was agitated and for a great number of years afterwards.

The apprehensions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French and Dutch were so heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of those two powers, and the intelligence he had, that France was shortly to declare war against Spain, and from thence to derive that occasion they had been so long seeking, to divide the Netherlands between themselves and their new allies, all whose pretensions, in respect to the right of fishing in, and using an unrestrained navigation in the seas, they had undertaken to support, that he resolved to be no longer passive. In order to defeat this design, and maintain the sovereignty annexed to the English crown, as well as the nation's credit as a maritime power, the king saw that it was necessary to equip and put to sea a superior naval force.

This it seemed exceedingly hard to do, without the assistance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids had been so great in former parliaments, that his Majesty was very doubtful of succeeding, if he trusted entirely to a parliamentary supply. His lawyers knowing both the nature of the case and his deep distress, suggested to him, that upon this occasion he might have recourse to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be issued, for the levying of ship-money. These writs were, for the present, directed only to sea-ports, and such places as were near the coast, requiring them to furnish a certain number of ships, or to grant the king an aid equivalent thereto. The city of London was directed to provide seven ships for twenty-six days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation the more easy under this tax, the king directed that the money raised thereby, should be kept apart in the Exchequer, and that a distinct account should be given of the services to which it was applied. Yet, in spite of these precautions, the people murmured grievously; which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution.

But as our neighbours were likely to be as much alarmed, from the equipping of so strong a fleet, as our people were disturbed at home by the method taken to defray the expence of it; Secretary Coke, by the king's orders, wrote a letter to Sir William Boswell, then charged with his Majesty's affairs at the Hague, in order fully to explain what that fleet was to perform; which letter, for the honour of those times, shall be inserted in the note below *.

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* "SIR,

"By your letters, and otherwise, I perceive many jealousies, and discourses are raised upon the preparations of his Majesty's fleet, which is now in such forwardness, that we doubt not but within this month it will appear at sea. It is therefore expedient, both for your satisfaction and direction, to inform you particularly what was the occasion, and what is his Majesty's intention in this work.

"First, we hold it a principle not to be denied, that the king

One would imagine, that less care had been taken to satisfy the minds of the people at home about the genuine

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of Great Britain is a monarch at land and sea, to the full extent of his dominions; and that it concerneth him, as much to maintain his sovereignty in all the British seas, as within his three kingdoms; because without that, these cannot be kept safe, nor he preserve his honour and due respect with other nations. But commanding the seas, he may cause his neighbours, and all countries, to stand upon their guard, whensoever he thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted, that whosoever will encroach upon him by sea, will do it by land also, when they see their time. To such presumption, MARE LIBERUM gave the first warning piece, which must be answered with a defence of MARE CLAUSUM, not so much by discourses, as by the louder language of a powerful navy, to be better understood, when overstrained patience seeth no hope of preserving her right by other means.

"The degrees by which his Majesty's dominion at sea hath of later years been first impeached, and then questioned, are as considerable as notorious.

"First, to cherish, as it were, to nurse up our unthankful neighbours, we gave them leave to gather wealth and strength upon our coasts, in our ports, by our trade, and by our people. Then they were glad to invite our merchants residence, with what privileges they could desire. Then they offered to us, even the sovereignty of their estates, and then they sued for licence to fish upon the coasts, and obtained it, under the great seal of Scotland, which now they suppress. And when thus, by leave, or by connivance, they had possessed themselves of our fishing, not only in Scotland, but in Ireland and England, and by our staple had raised a great stock of trade, by these means, they so increased their shipping and power at sea, that now they endure not to be kept at any distance; nay, they are grown to that confidence, to keep guards upon our seas, and then to project an office and company of assurance, for the advancement of trade, and, withal, prohibit us free commerce, even within our seas, and take our ships and goods, if we conform not to their placarts. What insolencies and cruelties they have committed against us heretofore, in Iceland, in Greenland, and in the Indies, is too well known to all the world. In all which, though our sufferings and their wrongs may seem forgotten, yet the great interest of his Majesty's honour is still the same, and will refresh their memories as there shall be cause. For though charity must remit wrongs done to private men, yet the reflection upon the public may make it a greater charity to do justice on crying crimes. All this, notwithstanding, you are not to conceive, that the work of this fleet is either revenge, or execution of justice for these great offences past, but chiefly for the future, to stop the violent current of that presumption, whereby the men of intent of this tax, levied for the equipping of a fleet sufficient for these necessary purposes, since otherwise the public welfare seemed to be so nearly concerned, that public acquiescence at least might have been expected. But the truth of the matter was, his Majesty did, in this respect, all that was in his power to do, by directing the Lord-keeper Coventry to put the

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war and free-booters of all nations, abusing the favour of his Majesty's peaceable and gracious government, whereby he hath permitted all his friends and allies, to make use of his seas and ports, in a reasonable manner, and according to his treaties, have taken upon them the boldness, not only to come confidently, at all times, into all his ports and rivers, but to convey their merchant ships as high as his chief city, and then to cast anchor close upon his magazines, and to contemn the commands of his officers, when they required a further distance. But, which is more intolerable, have assaulted and taken one another within his Majesty's channels, and within his rivers, to the scorn and contempt of his dominion and power; and this being of late years an ordinary practice, which we have endeavoured in vain to reform, by the ways of justice and treaties, the world, I think, will now be satisfied that we have reason to look about us. And no wise man will doubt, that it is high time to put ourselves in this equipage upon the seas, and not to suffer that stage of action to be taken from us for want of our appearance.

" So you see the general ground upon which our councils stand. In particular you may take notice and publish, as cause requires, that his Majesty by this fleet intendeth not a rupture with any prince or state, nor to infringe any point of his treaties, but resolveth to continue and maintain that happy peace wherewith God hath blessed his kingdom, and to which all his actions and negociations have hitherto tended, as by your own instructions you may fully understand. But withal, considering that peace must be maintained by the arm of power, which only keeps down war by keeping up dominion, his Majesty, thus provoked, finds it necessary, for his own defence and safety, to re-assume and keep his ancient and undoubted right in the dominion of these seas, and suffer no other prince or state to encroach upon him, thereby assuming to themselves, or their admirals, any sovereign command, but to force them to perform due homage to his admirals and ships, and to pay them acknowledgments as in former times they did. He will also set open and protect the free trade both of his subjects and allies, and give them such safe conduct and convoy as they shall reasonably require. He will suffer no other fleets, or men of war, to keep any guard upon these seas, or there to offer judges in mind, before they went the summer-circuit, to satisfy the minds of the people in relation to the levying of ship-money, which most of them did, but, as Whitlocke assures us, very ineffectually; though the same author acknowledges, that the money was assessed and levied with great care and equality, much beyond what was observed in following taxes.

With the help of this money, the king, in the month of May, 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty sail, under the command of Robert earl of Lindsey, who was admiral, Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, Sir John Pennington, rear-admiral, as also another of twenty sail under the earl of Essex. The first of these fleets sailed from Tilbury-hope on the 26th of May. Their instructions were, to give no occasion of hostility, and to suffer nothing which might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The French and Dutch fleets joined off Portland the last of this month, and made no scruple of giving out, that they intended to assert their own independency, and to question that prerogative which the English claimed in the narrow seas; but as soon as they were informed that the English fleet was at sea, and in search of them, they quitted our coast, and repaired to their own.

Our admiral sent a bark upon the coast of Britanny to take a view of them; and, from the time of the return of this bark to the 1st of October, this fleet protected our own seas and shores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually asserted that

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violence, or take prizes or booties, or to give interruption to any lawful intercourse. In a word, his Majesty is resolved, as to do no wrong, so to do justice both to his subjects and friends within the limits of his seas. And this is the real and royal design of this fleet, whereof you may give part, as you find occasion, to our good neighbours in those parts, that no umbrage may be taken of any hostile act or purpose to their prejudice in any kind. So wishing you all health and happiness, I rest.

" *Whitehall, April* 16, 1635.

sovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effect of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in some measure quieted the minds of the people, as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring money into the exchequer, without respect had to the end for which it was raised.

The king, perfectly satisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would signify little if another, and that at least as good a fleet, was not set out the next, to raise the money necessary for equipping such a force, had recourse again to his writs for levying of ship-money ; but now the aid was made more extensive. What was before rated as a particular provision, to be raised by the respective ports for their own immediate safety, was now converted into a national tax, and so became the more grievous for want of authority of parliament. The burden, indeed, in itself, was far from being pressing ; at the utmost it did not amount to above 236,000*l.* *per annum*, which was not quite 20,000*l.* a-month throughout the whole kingdom ; yet the making it an universal aid, and the assessing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority, gave it an air of oppression, and made it extremely odious, though the necessity was far from being dissembled, and the benefits resulting from the care taken of the narrow seas, which had afforded matter of inquiry and expostulation to every parliament the king had called, could not be denied.

In order to prevent all doubts from his own subjects, and also to prevent any false surmises gaining ground in foreign nations, as to the design of this potent armament, the king thought fit to express his royal intentions to the world in the most public, and in the most authentic manner, that at one and the same time it might appear what himself demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his ancestors in regard to those things, as to which these demands were made.*

In 1636, the king sent a fleet of sixty sail to sea, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, admiral, Sir John Pennington vice-admiral, and Sir Henry Marom, rear-admiral. They sailed first to the Downs, and from thence to the north, where the Dutch busses were fishing upon our coast. The admiral required them to forbear, which they not seeming disposed to do, he fired upon them ; this put them into great confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to other methods. The Dutch, therefore, applied themselves to the earl of Northumberland, and desired him to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fishing this year, for which they were content to pay 30,000*l.* and expressed also a willingness to obtain a grant from the king for his permission for their vessels to fish there for the time to come, paying an annual tribute.

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* A Proclamation for restraint of fishing upon his Majesty's seas and coasts without licence.

"Whereas our father of blessed memory, King James, did, in the seventh year of his reign of Great Britain, set forth a proclamation touching fishing, whereby, for the many important reasons therein expressed, all persons of what nation or quality soever (being not his natural-born subjects) were restrained from fishing upon any the coasts and seas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent, where most usually heretofore fishing had been, until they had orderly demanded and obtained licenses from our said father, or his commissioners in that behalf, upon pain of such chastisement as should be fit to be inflicted upon such wilful offenders; since which time, albeit, neither our said father nor ourself have made any considerable execution of the said proclamation, but have with much patience expected a voluntary conformity of our neighbours and allies to so just and reasonable propositions and directions as are contained in the same.

"And now, finding, by experience, that all the inconveniencies which occasioned that proclamation are rather increased than abated, we, being very sensible of the premises, and well knowing how far we are obliged in honour to maintain the rights of our crown, especially of so great consequence, have thought it necessary, by the advice of our privy council, to renew the aforesaid restraint of fishing upon our aforesaid coasts and seas without license first obtained from us, and by these presents to make public declaration, that our resolution is, at times convenient, to keep such a competent strength of shipping upon our seas, as may (by God's blessing) be sufficient both to hinder such farther encroachments upon our regalities, and assist and protect those our good friends and allies, who shall henceforth by virtue of our licenses (to be first obtained) endeavour to take the benefit of fishing upon our coasts and seas in the places accustomed.

"Given at our palace of Westminster, the 10th day of May, in the 12th year of our reign of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland."

Such is the best account that can be collected of the causes and consequences of this expedition from our best historians. But the earl of Northumberland delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, signed with his own hand, which is, or at least was preserved in the Paper-office. In that journal there are several memorable particulars. The Dutch fishing busses, upon the appearance of his lordship's fleet, did take licenses to the number of 200, though he arrived among them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelve-pence per ton as an acknowledgment, and affirms that they went away well satisfied. It was pretended by the Dutch, in King Charles the Second's time, that this was an act of violence, and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown from that transaction, since the Dutch did not pay because they thought what was insisted upon to be due, but because they were defenceless. His lordship's journal sets this pretence entirely aside, since it appeared from thence, that they had a squadron of ten men of war for their protection ; as also, that August the 20th, 1636, the Dutch Vice-admiral, Dorp, came with a fleet of twenty men of war ; but, instead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he saluted him by lowering his topsails, striking his flag, and firing his guns ; after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the earl of Northumberland. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that, upon his lordship's return from the north, and anchoring in the

Downs, he had notice of a Spanish fleet of twenty-six sail, bound for Dunkirk; to reconnoitre which, he sent one of the ships of his squadron, called the Happy Entrance, to which single ship that fleet paid the marks of respect, which were due to the English flag whenever it appeared.

The king meant to have continued both this method of raising money, and of fitting out fleets annually, and, by giving several young noblemen commands at sea, to have rendered them the more capable of serving their country in times of greater danger; but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew so exceedingly dissatisfied with this method of raising money, and the great case of Mr. Hampden made it so clear, that a constant and regular levying of this tax was dangerous to the constitution, and to the freedom of the subject, that the king was obliged to lay aside this scheme, and to content himself with using all the methods that could be thought of to awaken the people's attention in regard to the sovereignty of the sea. With this view his Majesty made an order in council, that a copy of Mr. Selden's book upon that subject should be kept in the council-chest, that another copy should be deposited in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty, there to remain as perpetual evidence of our just claim to the dominion of the seas.

Happy had it been, if the king had at this time called a parliament, and, after excusing the manner in which the money was levied, had shewn how well it was applied, how effectually our navigation had been protected, and all the designs of the French and Dutch defeated; for it may be then presumed, that the parliament would have provided, in a legal manner, for the maintenance of these fleets, which must have been of infinite advantage in respect to the trade of this kingdom. But it happened otherwise, to the great detriment of the commonwealth. Some courtiers spoke of the royal wisdom as infallible, and the regal power as not to be resisted, in order to raise themselves, which gave high and just offence to prudent men: others, in the mean time, that they might become popular, heightened every little error into a grievous crime, and magnified such irregular things as were done through necessity into deliberate acts of tyranny. By this means, these nations were plunged in blood, whose unanimity had rendered them rich, powerful, and happy, and even the arbiters of the fate of Europe.

M. D'Estrades, as he tells us in his negociation, was sent over in the latter end of the year 1637, with a private commission from the cardinal, to prevail on our king to stand neuter, whilst France and Holland in conjunction attacked the maritime places of the Spanish Netherlands; and to offer him, at the same time, very advantageous conditions in return for his inactivity. King Charles answered with equal firmness and prudence, that he could never suffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality so prejudicial to his own honour and the interest of his kingdom, and that he would keep a fleet in the Downs, with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported to the relief of the first town which should be invested by the arms of the French king, or the States; and as to the assistance which his eminence had offered to him against any domestic disturbance, he thanked him for it; but thought it quite unnecessary, since he depended on his own authority and the laws of the land for the suppressing and punishing of all such rebellious attempts.

The vindictive cardinal no sooner received the account of this conference from his agent, than he resolved to take an immediate revenge, and dispatched without delay, to Edinburgh, Abbè Chamber his almoner, whom he instructed to encourage the covenanters in their design, with the hopes of assistance from France, and to improve the correspondence which D'Estrades had formed amongst them during his short stay in England. This abbè performed his part so well, that the prince of Orange told M. D'Estrades, that the cardinal had employed a very notable instrument in Scotland, by whose practices the king's interest in that country was intirely ruined.

Nothing of consequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639, when the Spaniards fitted out a powerful fleet, consisting of sixty-seven sail of large ships, manned with 25,000 seamen and having on board 12,000 land-forces, designed for the relief of Flanders. The Dutch had two or three squadrons at sea, the Spanish fleet, coming up the channel, was met in the Streights by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of Martin the son of Herbert Van Tromp, who, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority, attacked them; but finding himself too weak, was obliged to sheer off towards Dunkirk, where being joined by the other squadrons, he so roughly handled the Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, that at last he forced them on the English coast near Dover.

Admiral Van Tromp finding himself in want of powder and ball, stood away for Calais, where he was liberally supplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach, the Spaniards got within the South-Foreland, and put themselves under the protection of our castles. Things being in this situation, the Spanish resident importuned King Charles, that he would oblige the Dutch to forbear hostilities for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coast; but the king being in amity with both powers, was resolved to stand neuter: and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk, upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambassadors, strict orders were given, that no ships or vessels belonging to his

Majesty's subjects should take any Spaniard on board, or pass below Gravesend without license.

However, after much plotting and counter-plotting on both sides, the Spaniard at length outwitted his enemy, and found means, by a stratagem in the night, to convey away through the Downs, round by the North Sand-head and the back of the Godwin, twelve large ships to Dunkirk, and in them four thousand men. In excuse of this gross neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded, they affirmed they were assured by the English, that no ships of any considerable burden could venture by night to sail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their stations near three weeks, when King Charles sent the earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to desire him to retreat upon the first fair wind; but by this time the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increased to a hundred sail, and seeming disposed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his Majesty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties which should be first attacked. This transaction shews plainly how much it imported England to have had a superior fleet at sea, which was prevented by the general discontent about ship-money, and the religious disturbances in Scotland, so that probably nothing more could be done than was done, though some blame fell upon Sir John Pennington in those days.

The Spaniards, however, growing too presumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, fired some shot a day or two after at Van Tromp's barge, when he was in her, and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a Dutch ship, whose dead body was presently sent on board Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the first aggressors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of England's harbour. Soon after this, the Dutch admiral, on receiving fresh orders from the States, came to a resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to Admiral Pennington, telling him, that the Spaniards having infringed the liberties of the king of England's harbours, and being clearly become the aggressors, he found himself obliged to repel force by force, and attack them, in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his assistance; which, however, if he should not please to grant, he requested the favour that he would at least give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwise he should have just cause of complaint to all the world of so manifest an injury.

This letter being delivered to the English admiral, Van Tromp immediately weighed, and stood to the Spaniards in six divisions, cannonading them furiously, and vigorously pressing them at the same time with his fire-ships, so that he quickly forced them all to cut their cables, and of fifty-three, which the Spaniards were in number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the Downs, of these three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore; one of which was a great galleon (the vice-admiral of Galicia) commanded by Don Antonio De Castro, and mounted with fifty-two brass guns. The remainder of the twenty-three, which were stranded and deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to save them from falling into the hands of the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish ships, with Don Antonio De Oquendo, the commander in chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog arising, the Dutch took advantage thereof, interposed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of Portugal began to flame, being set on fire by two Dutch ships fitted for that purpose. Oquendo perceiving this, presently stood away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and some few ships more; for, of these, thirty five were sunk in the fight, eleven taken and sent into Holland, three perished upon the coast of France, one near Dover, and only ten escaped. The first hostility having been indisputably committed by the Spaniards, was a plea of which the Dutch made use in their justification to us; and at the same time became a sufficient argument to defend the conduct of the English government, which otherwise would have appeared repugnant to the law of nations, in suffering one friend to destroy another within its chambers.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in reality the people of England were not sorry for this misfortune which befel the Spaniards, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it; and the reason of this was, that some surmised this to be a new Spanish armada, fitted out nominally against the Dutch; but, in truth, intended to act against heretics in general. At first sight this may appear a wild and extravagant suggestion; but, perhaps, the reader will in some measure change his opinion, when he is told, that in the next parliament there really appeared some kind of proof of it, a Popish book being produced, in which, among other superstitious things, were prayers for the holy martyrs who perished in the fleet sent against the heretics in England. However it was, the bare report undoubtedly was more than sufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their resentments against the Spaniards. Some of our own writers have affected to represent the conduct of the Dutch as derogatory on this occasion from our sovereignty at sea, but foreigners, who are the best judges in such cases, intimate nothing of this kind, though, it must be allowed, our affairs were then in such confusion, that it is very doubtful whether his Majesty could have properly resented any indignities, in case they had been offered.

I had nearly slipped over, as some of our historians have done, the expedition of the marquis of Hamilton against the Scots, which was undertaken this year; and indeed there is very little in it worth mentioning, except to show how exceedingly difficult it is to come at truth in relation to these affairs. Bishop Burnet, in his memoirs of the Hamilton family, has given us a very plausible account of this matter. He says, the duke embarked at Yarmouth about the middle of April, 1639; that he had with him about five thousand men, among whom there were not above two hundred that knew how to fire a gun: but he does not say what number of ships he had, or of what burden; only that the troops were transported in colliers, and arrived in the Frith of Forth the first of May. There he continued for some time, treating with the Scots to little or no purpose, till the season being lost, he returned without effecting any thing.

Another gentleman, who lived in those times, and seems to have known much of them, gives a quite different detail, which, as it is very short, may not be unworthy of the reader's notice, in his own words. "Hamilton," says he, "was to be a distinct general both by sea and land, and with a good fleet was to block up the Scots seas; nay, to my knowledge, he promised so to visit his countrymen on their coasts, as that they should find little ease or security in their habitations. For he had three good English regiments on board him; but the very choice of his ships shewed he had more mind to make war upon the king's treasure than on his own country or countrymen: for he had chosen some of the second and third rate, whereas the least frigates would have done the greatest service; thus by the very bulk of his ships obliging himself to an inactivity. One might well have expected, that he who had so prodigally, as a commissioner, lavished his Majesty's honour, and unhinged the government, would have vigorously employed those forces under his command to have restored both, and that a man of his importance would have found some party ready to have countenanced and assisted him: but, instead thereof, when he comes and anchors in the Frith, his mother, a violent spirited lady, and a deep presbyteress, comes on board him, and surely she had no hard task to charm him. Afterwards the great ships, like the great formidable log let down to be a king, lying still, he had several visits from many of the great men who were most active against the king: as if he had been rather returned from an East India voyage than come as a powerful enemy."

The fleet was, from this time forward, so entirely out of the king's power, that I think the naval history of this reign ends properly here: and, therefore, having already related, as fairly and impartially as I could, the several expeditions undertaken by his authority, I come now to mention the progress of trade, the increase of shipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the same space.

This prince, however, before the rebellion broke out, among others, added one ship to the royal navy of England, which, on account of its size, and other remarkable particulars, deserves to be mentioned in this place, more especially as it has escaped the notice of all our naval writers. This famous vessel was built at Woolwich in 1637. She was in length by the keel one hundred and twenty-eight feet; in breadth forty-eight feet; in length, from the fore-end of the beak-head, to the after-end of the stern, two hundred thirty-two feet: and in height, from the bottom of her keel to the top of her lanthorn, seventy-six feet. Bore five lanthorns, the biggest of which would hold ten persons upright; had three flush-decks, a fore-castle, half-deck, quarter-deck and round-house. Her lower tier had thirty ports, middle tier thirty ports, third tier twenty-six ports, fore-castle twelve ports, half-deck fourteen ports; thirteen or fourteen ports more within board, besides ten pieces of chace-ordnance forward, and ten right-aft, and many loopholes in the cabins for musket-shot. She had eleven anchors, one of four thousand four hundred pounds weight. She was of the burden of one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven tons. She was built by Peter Pett, Esq. under the inspection of Captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of the navy.*

It appears from Sir William Monson, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of those times, who were competent judges of these matters, that the commerce of this island increased exceedingly during the first fifteen years of this king's reign; insomuch that the port of London only could have supplied a hundred sail, capable of being easily converted into men of war, and well furnished with ordnance. The trade to the East-Indies, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very lucrative, and our ships gave law in those parts to almost all foreign nations. The trade to Guinea grew likewise to be of considerable benefit to the English subjects, and our intercourse with Spain, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewise. It is true, there happened some considerable disputes between the government and the merchants, about customs, which some of the ministers of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas others conceived, as most of the merchants themselves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied but by the consent of parliament: but these very disputes shew that trade was in a flourishing condition; for if the customs had not risen to a considerable height, beyond what they did in former times, no ministry would have run the hazard of such a contest.*

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* A true description of his Majesty's royal ship built this year 1637, at Woolwich in Kent, to the great glory of the English nation, and not paralleled in the whole Christian world: published by authority, London, 4to, 1637. This little piece is addressed to Charles I. by its author, Thomas Heywood, who appears to have been employed in contriving the emblematical devices or designs, and in composing the mottos which adorned and embellished this royal vessel.

But the principal source of our naval strength then, as it has been ever since, was, our plantations, to the encouragement and augmentation of which even those accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwise fatal to society; such as our civil and ecclesiastical divisions, which inclined numbers of sober, industrious, and thinking people to prefer liberty, and whatever they could raise in distant and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneasy situation in which they found themselves at home †.

The colony of Virginia had struggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleased to take it into his own hands; which he did very soon after his coming to the crown, and then directed the constitution of that colony to be, a governor, council, and assembly, conformable to that of this kingdom, and under which the colony quickly began to flourish. But this happy situation of affairs did not last long: Sir John Harvey, whom the king had made governor, did so many illegal and gross actions, that the colony being at length, no longer able to endure, caused him to be seized and sent home as a prisoner, in 1639. This behaviour the king exceedingly resented, and, therefore, sent him back to his government without so much as hearing the complaints that were alleged against him.

But this re-establishment was with a view only to support the dignity of the crown; for, very soon after, Sir William Berkley was sent over to succeed him, who proved as good a governor as ever this colony had. That of New England had its name bestowed by his Majesty when prince, and was better settled in King James's time than any other of our colonies, and throughout the whole reign of King Charles I. was constantly supplied with large draughts of people; so that by degrees it was divided into four governments, under which, it is supposed, there might be nearly twenty-five thousand inhabitants; whence it is evident, that the commerce carried on between this colony and its mother-country must have been very considerable even in this early period.

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* Many of our ablest writers of English history, particularly such as lived in those days, and have discoursed of them, speak with rapture of the great felicity of these times, and of the wealth and prosperity of the nation at the period mentioned in the text.

† Mr. Neale, in his history of the Puritans observes, that Archbishop Laud drove thousands of families to New England by the severities he exercised here.

The Papists in England finding themselves liable to many severities, and being very apprehensive of more and greater falling upon them, were desirous of having an asylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformists; and this gave rise to the planting of Maryland, a country which had been hitherto accounted part of Virginia, between 37 and 40 degrees of north latitude, granted by King Charles, the 20th of June, 1632, to the ancestor of the present Lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland from his queen, Henrietta-Maria. It was more easily and more successfully planted than any former colony had been, and the honourable Mr. Leonard Calvert, brother to the lord-proprietor, was the first governor, and continued to exercise his authority till that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him, and then the parliament sent over a governor of their own.

The Summer-Islands, which were planted in the last reign, and settled under a regular government in the year 1619, flourished exceedingly, the country being extremely pleasant and fruitful, and the air much more wholesome than in any other part of America. As for the island of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of Carlisle, who gave such encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and most of those who went became so speedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and, even within this period, was esteemed the most populous of all our plantations. The islands of St. Christopher and Nevis were also settled about this time.

I am now to take notice of such seamen as flourished within the compass of this reign, and have not hitherto been particularly mentioned.

SIR ROBERT MANSEL.

Sir Robert Mansel claims the first place amongst these, though the memoirs we have of him are far from being so full as might be wished. He was descended from a very ancient, and, in our own times, though now extinct, noble family in Glamorganshire, being the third son of Sir Edward Mansel, knight, by his wife the Lady Jane, daughter to Henry earl of Worcester. He addicted himself early to the sea, and under the patronage of the famous Lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral of England, came to be a considerable officer in the fleet, and in the Cadiz expedition received the honour of knighthood from the earl of Essex, who thenceforward received him into his special favour; and in the island voyage he was captain of the admiral's own ship. Upon his return he adhered to his old patron the earl of Nottingham, and so remained in Queen Elizabeth's favour during all her reign, in which he was often employed at sea, especially in the defence of the coast; and in this service was remarkably successful, particularly in 1602, when, as we have shewn elsewhere, Sir Robert Mansel attacked six of the Spanish gallies going to Flanders, sunk three, and dispersed the rest. This gallant action the Dutch, and after them the French historians having very much misrepresented, Sir Robert in his own justification drew up a complete relation of this service, which he addressed to his great friend and patron the lord high-admiral, an extract from which curious and authentic paper, agreeably to our promise, we here present the reader, mostly in his own words:

"On the 23d of September, being in the Hope, and having in my company the Advantage only, of the queen's ships, which Captain Jones commanded, and two Dutch men of war, I rid more than half-channel over towards the coast of France upon a north-west and south-east line, myself being nearest that coast, Captain Jones next to me, and the Dutch men of war a sea-board, and to the westward of him. The small force at that time present, and with me, remaining thus disposed for the intercepting of the gallies, having dismissed the Dutch men of war, that served under me, upon their own intreaty, to re-victual and trim, and having employed the rest of the queen's ships upon special services, I descried from my top-mast heads six low sails, which some made for gallies, others affirmed them to be small barks that had struck their top-sails, and bound from Dieppe towards the Downs. To which opinion, though I inclined most, yet I directed the master to weigh and stand with them, that I might learn some news of the gallies, which, by your lordship's advertisement sent me, I knew had either passed me that night, or were near at hand, unless the sea had swallowed them up in the storms which had raged three days before. Having set myself under sail, the weather grew thick, which obliged me to lash some two points from the wind towards the English coast, lest the continuance of that dark weather might give them power to run out a-head of me. About eleven o'clock the weather cleared, when I discovered them plainly to be the Spanish gallies so long time expected, at which time with the rest I plied to receive them by crossing their fore-foot as they stood along the channel, which they endeavoured till they perceived that, by the continuance of that course, they could not escape the power of my ordnance.

"All this time these two fly-boats were between them and me; and, as the slaves report that swam ashore at Dover, they determined with three gallies to have boarded each of those ships, and could have executed that resolution but for the fear of her Majesty's great galleon (as they termed the Hope), whose force that they shunned in that kind, considering the disadvantage that twice six of the best gallies that ever I saw hath by fighting against one ship of her force, I do as much commend, as otherwise I do detest their shameful working, in that, full of cowardliness and weakness, they rowed back to the westward, and spent the day by running away, in hopes that the darkness of the night would give them liberty sufficient to shun the only ship they feared, or that was indeed in the sea at that time to give them the cause of fear, I mean between them and Dunkirk or Newport. This error only of theirs bred their confusion, as you may perceive by the sequel.

"For they no sooner began that course of rowing back again, but I instantly made signs for Captain Jones in the Advantage of the queen's to come to me, whom I presently directed to repair to Calais road, and thence to send the alarm into the States army assembled before Sluys, and to advise such men of war as kept on the coast of Flanders, upon any other occasion, to stand off to the sea, to meet with the gallies in the night, which should be chased by me, with my lights in my top-mast heads, and a continual discharging of my ordnance. Captain Jones having shaped his course according to my directions, I gave orders for hoisting and trimming of my sails by the wind to keep sight of the gallies: the two fly-boats, being still a-weather of me, did the like.

"Which chace we held till sun-setting, observing this course following all the day. They, being a-weather of me, kept their continual boards, that the gallies were always between them; and myself, being to leeward, made such short turns, as I kept all the afternooon, in a manner even in the very eye of their course, between them and the place of their design, ever discharging my best ordnance to warn the Answer of her Majesty's, that rid by my directions at the Downs upon important service, as your lordship knoweth; and the Flemings that were there, having left the sea, upon unknown grounds to me (yet sent from Portsmouth by the most provident direction of her sacred Majesty to await the coming of the gallies, upon advertisements that her Highness received of their being put to sea), to set sail, who else had received no understanding of the gallies, neither came they within shot of them till after night, howsoever the reputation of the service is wholly challenged by them.

"Having given your lordship an account how this day was thus spent by me from eight o'clock until the evening, and with these only helps, I beseech your lordship to be pleased to understand, that with the setting of the sun I could both discern the ships last mentioned under sail at the Downs, and the gallies to have set their sails, directing their course close aboard our shore, each of them being out of sight of the other, and my Dutch consorts by this time to have been left by the gallies to a stern chace. When I perceived them to hold that course, which would bring them within shot of the Answer, and the rest that were in the Downs, I held a clean contrary course from them towards the coast of France, to confirm the secure passage they thought to find on our coast, which continued until the report of their battery gave me assurance of the gallies being engaged with them.

"How the battery began, who began it, how it was continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the service is due, I leave to be considered by your lordship by the perusal of the true discourse following. The Answer of the queen which Captain

Broadgate commanded, as she rid more southerly at the Downs than the Flemings, so came the first to the gallies, and bestowed twenty-eight pieces of ordnance on them, before the Flemings came in, who at length seconded him with very many shot.

" During this battery of ours upon the gallies, which I so term, because they never exchanged one shot, at the very first report of the Answer's ordnance, I directed the master of my ship to bear up with the south end of the Goodwin, with which directions I delivered my reasons publicly as I stood on the poop of my ship, *viz.* that, if I stood directly into them, the gallies, before I could recover the place, would either be driven ashore or sunk, and so there would prove no need of my force, or else by their nimble sailing they would escape the ships, of whom (once getting a-head) they could receive no impediment; for there was no one ship but the Advantage in the sea that could hinder them to recover any port in Flanders, or the east countries (Sluys only excepted), unless I stayed them at that sand-head.

" Having recovered as near that place as I desired, I stayed at least a quarter of an hour before I could either see the galley, hear or see any of those ships, their lights, or report of their ordnance, which made me and all my company hold opinion, that they had outsailed the Answer and the rest of the Flemings, and shunned sight of me, by going a sea-board of my ship, which I so verily believed, as I once directly determined to sail for Sluys, with hope only, that the preparation which I know the States had there, would be able to prevent their entrance into that place. Whilst I remained thus doubtful, or rather hopeless, to hinder their recovery of Dunkirk or Newport, in case they had been a-seaboard of me, some of my company descried a single galley plying from the shore to get a-head of my ship. When she approached within caliver-shot, I discharged about thirty pieces of ordnance of my lower and upper tier at her alone; myself with many other in my ship saw when her main-yard was shot asunder, heard the report of many shot that hit her hull, heard many their most pitiful outcries, which when I perceived to continue, and, instead of making way from me, to near me what she could, I forebore shooting, and commanded one that spoke the Portuguese language to tell them, that I was contented to receive them to mercy, which I would accordingly have performed, had not the other five gallies offered to stand a-head of me at that very instant, and thereby would have left me, as they had both the first two Dutch ships, and afterwards the Answer, with the rest of the Flemings, had I omitted any small time of executing the advantage I had of their being on my broadside, which, as appears, was so effectually employed, (howsoever the night wherein this service was performed might hinder the particular mention of their hurts), as none can deny but that God pleased thereby only to work their confusion: for since that time, none hath said or can speak of any one shot made towards them; yet four of them are sunk and wrecked, the fifth past doing the enemy service, and the sixth they are forced to new-build at Dunkirk, where (if I be not much deceived) she will prove more chargeable than profitable, if the default rest not in ourselves.

"The disagreement between the Dutch captains themselves, touching the stemming and sinking of the gallies (whereof one challenged before your lordship, and in many other public places, to have stemmed and sunk two himself), and the printed pamphlet, containing the stemming and sinking of three gallies, gives the reputation thereof to three several captains, amongst whom no mention is made of the first; and, whereas there are but two in all sunk, I leave to be reconciled among themselves, and to your lordship, whether that the same of right appertaineth not to her Majesty's ship the Hope, in respect of the allegations before mentioned, every particular whereof being to be proved by the oaths of my whole company, and maintained with the hazard of my life, with that which followeth:

"1. As the shooting of the single galley's main-yard; my bestowing above thirty pieces of ordnance upon that one galley within less than caliver-shot.

"2. That they in the galley made many lamentable outcries for my receiving them into mercy.

"3. That I would accordingly have received them, but for giving them over, to encounter with the other five gallies, which else had left me to a stern-chace.

"To these reasons I add the assertion of the vice-admiral himself, who told me (whatsoever he spake in other places) that one of the gallies which he stemmed had her main-yard shot asunder before his coming aboard her; by whomsoever she was then stemmed, your lordship may judge who ruined her, considering she made no resistance by his own report, but by crying to him for mercy.

"Touching the other galley stemmed and sunk, I have already proved how she (as all the rest) had got a-head the Answer of the queen's not named, and the rest of the States men of war with her, who challenge the whole credit of this service. They, as all other seamen, cannot deny but that the gallies will outsail all ships in such a loome gale of wind and smooth sea as we had that night.

"The gallies being then quicker of sail than they, how could they by any means possible fetch them up but by some impediment? Impediment they received none but by my ordnance, which amounted to fifty great shot at those five which came last from the shore, when all the ships were above a mile a-stern.

"Some, notwithstanding, out of their detracting dispositions, may perchance say, that the two which were wrecked at Newport would have perished by storm, though they had not been battered: whereto though I have sufficiently answered, first, in shewing that they might have recovered any of the places thereabouts before eight o'clock that night, but for me, and then the second time before the morning, had they not been encountered by me alone, at the South-sand head; yet, for further proof that they miscarried by our battery only, I say, that if one of the gallies which received least damage by our ordnance did outlive Friday's storm, continuing till Saturday noon, being driven among the islands of Zealand, to recover Calais, then surely those two (unless they had been exceedingly torn) would have made shift to have recovered the ports of Newport, Graveling, or Dunkirk; especially since from the place where I battered them they might have been at the remotest of those places, about four hours before any storm began. But such seemed their haste to save their lives, as their thought ran of a shore, and not of a harbour.

"Now that I have delivered unto your lordship the whole and true discourse of this business, I shall forbear to trouble your patience with any further relation of that night, and next day's spending my time, (though the same in their chace had like to have cost her Majesty her ship, and the lives of as many as were in her), and conclude with admiration of their not holding her Majesty's ship, nor I, (her unworthiest servant), and then, and yet, by her Highness's grace, and your lordship's favour, admiral of the forces in that place, am not once mentioned, especially since the six gallies might safely have arrived, before seven o'clock that night, at any of the ports of Flanders to the westward of Ostend. And that the Dutch ships had not come from an anchor in the Downs, but for the signs (signals) they received from me. Then, that the force of her Majesty's ship wherein I was, enforced them to keep close aboard the English shore, whereby those ships in the Downs had power given them to come to fight, which fight was begun by the Answer of the queen's.

"And, lastly, since the gallies escaped their battery, and had gotten a-head those ships above a mile at least, and never received any impediment after but only by me, who lingered them (as you have heard) until the coming up of those ships that challenge to stem them; which being granted, I cannot see how any other credit can rightly be given them (for that stem I mean) than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead body which his master had slain."

There were three motives which induced me to insert this relation, long as it is, in this work. First, because the paper is very curious in itself, and well drawn. Next, because it does honour to the memory of its author, Sir Robert Mansel, and comes in with great propriety here. Lastly, as it shews the correctness of those times, when every thing was examined into, and sifted to the very bottom, which made officers so tender of their characters, that they were ever ready, upon any such occasion as this before us, to render a strict account of their conduct, in so full and circumstantial a manner, as absolutely silenced calumny, and left no farther room for dispute.

On the accession of King James he was continued in his post of vice-admiral, to which he had been raised by the interest of the earl of Nottingham, and remained in favour for several years. When the lord high-admiral's enemies had so far alienated his Majesty's affections as to procure a commission for reforming abuses in the navy, which was equally detrimental to his reputation and authority, Sir Robert Mansel chose rather to adhere to his friend, than to make court at his expence; and with this view advised his lordship not to submit to this commission, for which Sir Robert was committed prisoner to the Marshalsea, and continued there some months, in the year 1613. In consequence of this inquiry, many abuses were, however, really discovered and corrected, so that 25,000*l.* a-year were soon after saved to the crown; from a just sense of which, Sir Robert advised his patron to resign his high office, perceiving that he began to outlive his abilities, and that his longer continuance therein might become more and more detrimental both to the public and himself.

To prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the earl of Nottingham's resignation, Sir Robert Mansel applied himself to the duke of Buckingham, whom he advised to accept that office; and when he excused himself on account of his youth and want of experience, told him plainly, why he thought him fittest for the place. He observed, that in time of peace the best service that could be done was to look well to the constant repair of the navy, and to rebuild occasionally such ships as wanted it; and that by applying himself assiduously to the duty of his office, he might acquire all the knowledge that was necessary, before any war should call him into action. Thus the duke was brought into the office of high-admiral by the persuasion of Sir Robert Mansel, and upon very just motives: neither was it at all to the prejudice of his old master; for the earl of Nottingham had a pension of one thousand pounds a-year, and the duke made a present to the countess of Nottingham of three thousand pounds. This transaction happened in 1616, and, in consequence thereof, Sir Robert Mansel was, by the duke of Buckingham's interest, made vice-admiral for life.

The duke, by his advice, did another thing, which was very commendable. He procured a commission to be granted to several able and experienced persons for the management of the navy, which had very good effects: nay, there is strong reason to believe, considering the great confusion into which things afterwards fell, that the fleet, if it had not been for this commission, would have been absolutely ruined; whereas, by the help of it, it was so well preserved, that Buckingham, upon his impeachment, acquitted himself better in what related thereto, than in regard to any other article.

In 1620, Sir Robert Mansel commanded the fleet fitted out against the pirates of Algiers, of which we have given an impartial account in its proper place. However unfortunate he was in the management of that expedition, yet there seems to be no reason to conceive he was in any great fault. It is admitted, that he advised it from a generous and public spirited motive, the desire of raising the English reputation at sea, and freeing our trade from the insults of these rovers; but it seems he was sent abroad with so limited a commission, and had so many raw and unexperienced officers employed in the fleet, through the favour of eminent courtiers, that from these and other cross accidents he was disabled from performing what he intended, though he did all that was in his power, and is, on that account, commended by the most knowing writers of those times.

This unlucky affair, however, and perhaps his declining in the favour of the duke of Buckingham, hindered him from being employed in the reign of King Charles; and the very neglect of him is mentioned as one of the errors therein. He continued, notwithstanding, in possession of his office of vice-admiral, and lived till after the breaking out of the civil wars, when he died with the reputation of being a great seaman, and a person of unblemished integrity; leaving, so far as I have been able to learn, no issue.*

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* His knowledge in his profession must have been very extensive, as well as his character as a gallant officer, since we find him recommended by Sir John Pennington to the king, in 1642, as the properest person to seize the fleet for that prince's service: his authority, as vice-admiral of England, as well as his known and great reputation with the seamen, being, as was suggested, like to meet with little resistance from the power of the earl of Warwick, who had found means the year before to bring it under the dominion of the parliament; but his Majesty was apprehensive lest Sir

In the course of this work, Sir William Monson has frequently been mentioned as an admiral, and full as often cited as an author; we shall now take occasion to throw together such particulars as relate to him, and which are scattered in a variety of books, in order to preserve, as entire as may be, the memory of so worthy a person, and of the principal actions by him achieved; some of which he has also left us recorded by his own pen.

SIR WILLIAM MONSON.

Sir William Monson was the third son of Sir John Monson, of South Carlton, in Lincolnshire, and born in 1569. He was a student in Baliol College, Oxford, for about two years; but being of an active and martial disposition, he soon grew weary of a contemplative life, and applied himself to the sea-service. It was in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's war with Spain, that he entered on this profession; and, indeed, he appears to have been led to it by the wildness of youth; for he was then only sixteen years of age, and entered himself without the knowledge of his parents. His wages were no more than ten shillings per month, and his condition only that of a private man. He engaged in his first voyage on board a small bark, or privateer, which was commissioned to seize upon the subjects of the king of Spain. This vessel, in company with another still smaller, sailed from the Isle of Wight, in September 1585; and being come upon the coast of Spain, about eight o'clock in the evening, they met and boarded a Spanish vessel of three hundred tons burthen, well manned and armed, returning from Newfoundland;

Robert's advanced age, and the infirmities that attended thereon, might render the attempt hazardous, though he had a great opinion of his courage and integrity. Sir Robert at this time resided at Greenwich. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii.

which, after an engagement uncommonly bloody and obstinate, yielded the next morning at seven o'clock. This was the first Spanish prize that ever saw the English shore. In 1587, he went out commander of a vessel, but keeping longer at sea than he expected, he was reduced to great extremity for want of provisions; and, coming back from the Canary Islands, was very near being lost in Dingle-bay, upon the coast of Ireland. In 1588, he served in one of the queen's ships, named the Charles, but had not the command of it.

In 1589, he was vice-admiral to the Earl of Cumberland, in his expedition to the Azores islands, and at the taking of Fayal, where he did very great service; but, in their return, he endured such violent hardships, as threw him into a violent illness; which kept him at home the whole year 1590. "The extremity we endured," says he in his Naval Tracts, "was more terrible than befel any ship in the eighteen years' war: for, laying aside the continual expectation of death by shipwreck, and the daily mortality of our men, I will speak of our famine, that exceeded all men and ships I have known in the course of my life. For sixteen days together we never tasted a drop of drink, either beer, wine, or water; and though we had plenty of beef and pork of a year's salting, yet did we forbear eating it, for making us the drier. Many drank salt-water; and those that did, died suddenly; and the last words they usually spake was, drink, drink, drink! and I dare boldly say, that of five hundred men that were in that ship seven years before, at this day there is not a man alive but myself and one more."

In 1591, he served a second time under the earl of Cumberland, who was commissioned to act against the Spaniards. Accordingly they took several Spanish ships; and Captain Monson being sent to convoy one of them to England, was surrounded and taken by six Spanish gallies, after a long and bloody fight. What was worse, they detained him as an hostage, for the performance of certain covenants, and carried him to Portugal, where he was kept prisoner two years at Cascais and Lisbon. Not discouraged, however, at this ill luck, he entered a third time into the earl's service in 1593; and he behaved himself in this, and in all other expeditions, like an able and undaunted seaman.

In 1594, he was created Master of Arts at Oxford; and the following year he married; but, previously to his marriage, he engaged again to attend the earl of Cumberland to sea, as his vice-admiral, in the Rainbow. When they had sailed a few leagues towards Spain, the earl, without saying any thing, suddenly quitted the voyage, and appointed another captain for his own ship; which so much disgusted Mr. Monson, that he betook himself to his own adventure; and after having made a fruitless voyage to the coast of Spain, and suffered much by storms, he returned to Plymouth. In 1596, he served in the expedition to Cadiz, being captain of the Repulse; and, for his services on this occasion, received the honour of knighthood. He was very near being killed on this occasion, but escaped in a remarkable manner. He was preserved by a bullet hitting upon his sword; as he had been also at the island of St. Mary's in 1589. His own account of this is as follows: "In that conflict (at Cadiz) I was shot with a musket-bullet through my scarf and breeches; and the handle and pummel of my sword shot from my side, without any further hurt. And at an encounter in the island of St. Mary's, my sword, which I placed naked, and the point upward, was shot asunder, and the bullet passed through the belly of my doublet, which, if it had not been for my sword, had done the like through my belly." Sir William adds, "By the way, this I note, that as the sword is the death of many a man, so it hath been twice the preserver of my life."

In 1597, he commanded the Rainbow in the expedition to the Azores, under the earl of Essex; and if the earl had followed Sir William Monson's advice, he would have made himself master of the Spanish Plate-fleet. In 1602, he went out as vice-admiral in the Garland, to the coast of Spain, with Sir Richard Lewson, admiral; and they were so successful as to take, in the road of Cessimbra, a carrack of seventeen hundred tons, worth, with its cargo, a million of pieces of eight. Sir William Monson was employed in several other expeditions, and was highly honoured and esteemed during Queen Elizabeth's reign. But military men were not King James's favourites; and, therefore, after the death of Elizabeth, he received but little favour or countenance at court. However, in 1604, he was appointed admiral of the Narrow Seas; in this station he continued till the year 1616; during which time, he supported the honour of the English flag against the insolence of the Dutch, of which he frequently complains in his "Naval Tracts;" and protected our trade against the encroachments of France.

Notwithstanding the long and faithful services of Sir William Monson, he had the misfortune to fall into disgrace; and, through the resentment of some powerful courtiers, was imprisoned in the Tower in 1616; but, after having been examined by the Lord Chief Justice Coke and Secretary Winwood, he was discharged. He wrote a vindication of his conduct, intitled, "Concerning the insolencies of the Dutch, and a Justification of Sir William Monson." His zeal against the insolencies of the Dutch, and in promoting an inquiry into the state of the navy, contrary to the sense and inclination of the earl of Nottingham, then lord high-admiral, seem to have been the occasion of his troubles. He had also the misfortune to bring upon himself a general and popular odium, by retaking the Lady Arabella Stuart, after her escape out of England in June, 1611, though it was acting exactly according to his orders and duty. This lady was confined to the Tower for her marriage with William Seymour, Esq. as it was pretended; though the true cause of her confinement was, her being too nearly allied to the crown of England. However, Sir William Monson soon recovered his credit at court; for in 1617, he was called before the privy council, to give his opinion how the pirates of Algiers might be suppressed, and the town attacked. He shewed the impossibility of taking Algiers, and was against the expedition; notwithstanding which, it was rashly undertaken by Villiers, duke of Buckingham. He was also against two other injudicious undertakings, which were as injudiciously managed in the years 1625 and 1628; namely, the expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhe. He was not employed in these actions, because he found fault with the minister's measures; but in 1635, it being found necessary to equip a large fleet, in order to break a confederacy that was forming between the French and the Dutch, he was appointed vice-admiral in that armament, and performed his duty with great honour and bravery.

This was the last public service in which Sir William Monson was engaged. He spent the remainder of his days in peace and privacy, at his seat at Kinnersley, in Surrey, where he digested and finished his "Naval Tracts." He died there in February 1642-3, in the seventy-third year of his age, and left a numerous posterity. He was a very able, active, and intelligent sea-commander; he possessed great bravery, and uncommon skill in maritime affairs.

The Naval Tracts are divided into six books, all on different subjects, and yet all equally curious and instructive. The first book is, for the most part, a collection of every year's actions, in the war against Spain, on our own, upon the Spanish coast, and in the West Indies. A brief narrative; for no more is said, but the force they were undertaken with, and the success of the enterprise: yet the design is to shew the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others; and, what perhaps may be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them. His second book continues somewhat of the method of the first, beginning with fatherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which puts an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being afterwards employed against pirates. He inveighs against the Dutch, shews the ill management of a design against Algiers, and makes very curious remarks on the attempt upon Cadiz by King Charles I. disclosing methods how Spain might have been much more endangered; with other particulars about the shipping of England, and sovereignty of the seas.

The third book only treats of the admiralty; that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high-admiral to the meanest person employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a complete fleet to the smallest vessel; and the part of it; with instructions for all officers, the size of all sorts of guns, all kinds of allowances on board the king's ships, and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many others, and those important matters, for those times, accurately handled. The fourth book is of a very different nature from any of the rest, being a brief collection of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, and conquests in Africa, Asia, and America; with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of the first settling both of English and French plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and schemes, for managing affairs at sea to the best advantage for the nation. The sixth, and last, treats of fishing, and is intended to shew the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to England; with such instructions as are necessary for putting such a design in execution.

The writing and collecting these pieces were the last efforts of his genius; for he died in the month of February 1642, being in the seventy-third year of his age, at Kynnersley in Surrey, the place he had chosen for his retirement, and where he left a numerous posterity.

As for Sir John Pennington, Sir Henry Marom, and some other seamen who rose in this reign to be admirals, we meet with nothing relating to them of importance enough to deserve the attention of the reader, or which can any way tend to the enlightening this part of our history; and, therefore, we shall conclude our account of this reign, with observing that King Charles I. during his reign, added nineteen ships of different sizes to the navy, and increased the number of seamen by about two thousand.

According to Captain Schomberg, the royal navy, when Charles was dethroned in 1642, consisted of eighty-two sail. In the year 1654, during the period of civil war, its expences amounted to 850,610 pounds, and in 1660, at the restoration of King Charles II. its tonnage was 62,494 tons.

CHAP. XV.

The Naval History of Great Britain, from the breaking out of the Civil War, to the Restoration of King Charles II. comprehending an Account of all the Struggles between the King and his Parliament for the Command of the Fleet, the Revolt of Part of it to the Prince of Wales, the Dutch War, the Disputes with France, the War with Spain; and the Memoirs of such famous Seamen as flourished within this Space of Time.

WHEN the disputes between King Charles I. and his parliament were risen to such a height, that both parties thought the shortest and most effectual method of deciding them was, to have recourse to the sword, it was natural for them to be extremely solicitous about the fleet, for many reasons; and for this particularly, that whoever was master of that, would be considered as the supreme power by foreign princes. The earl of Northumberland was at this time lord high admiral; the king had given him that commission, to satisfy the House of Commons, who had a confidence in him; and granted it during pleasure only, because his intention was to confer that office on his son the duke of York, as soon as he became of age. Sir Robert Mansel was vice-admiral of England; a gentleman very loyal, but very infirm and far advanced in years. Sir John Pennington was vice-admiral of the fleet then in the Downs, and Sir John Mennes was rear admiral; both well affected to his Majesty. The parliament, however, having formed a project of dispossessing the king of his fleet, executed it successfully; notwithstanding these circumstances so favourable for his Majesty, and though he had the affections of the seamen, whose wages he had raised, and for whom he had always shewn a very particular regard, and a very high esteem. This, which was one of the most extraordinary things they did, was of the utmost consequence to their affairs; and therefore we shall give a short and impartial account of the steps they took to accomplish it.

In the spring of the year 1641, the parliament desired, that is, in effect directed, the earl of Northumberland to provide a strong fleet for the nation's security by sea, and appropriated a proper fund for this service They next desired, that he would appoint the earl of Warwick admiral of that fleet, on account of his own indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to command in person. The king took this ill, and insisted on Sir John Pennington's keeping his command; but the earl had so much respect to the parliament's recommendation, that he ordered the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of Warwick, and granted him a commission to command it. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made Captain Cartwright comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of Sir John Pennington; but he refusing to undertake this service without the king's permission, his Majesty was pleased to signify his pleasure, that he should decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed Batten vice-admiral, who was remarkably disaffected towards the king; and their orders being complied with, the fleet in the spring, 1642, fell into their hands, though the king was persuaded in his own mind, that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reason of his not removing, at that time, as he afterwards did, the earl of Northumberland from his high office.

It was not long before he had good reason to change his opinion; for the queen sending his Majesty a small supply from Holland in the Providence, the only ship the king had left, the ships from the Downs chaced the vessel into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her ashore. Upon this the king resolved to attempt seizing the fleet; and the design, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the mismanagement of Sir John Pennington it miscarried, and served only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of Warwick an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted, and now made the utmost use of it possible.

The parliament, as they had discovered great care and industry in securing, so they shewed no less wisdom in the conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643, Vice-admiral Batten having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by sea from Holland into the north of England, he did his utmost to intercept her, though on board a Dutch man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chaced the ship into Burlington-bay; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that she lodged in a house upon the key, he fired upon it, so that many of the shot went through her chamber, and she was obliged, though very much indisposed, to retire for shelter or rather for safety, into the open fields. This service, which was performed in the month of February, was very grateful to the parliament, because it shewed how much the officers of the fleet at least were in their interest.

It was recommended to his Majesty by those who wished very well to his affairs, during the time the treaty for peace was in agitation at Oxford in April, 1643, to seize the occasion, which then presented itself, of attaching the earl of Northumberland to his service by offering to appoint him once more lord high admiral of England, from a persuasion that it might be attended with very happy consequences in regard to the king's interest. Mr. Pierpoint, says Lord Clarendon, who was of the best parts, rather desired than proposed such a measure, and the earl himself protesting in confidence to Secretary Nicholas, that he desired only to receive so great an instance of his Majesty's goodness, that he might be the better enabled to deliver the fleet back into his Majesty's hands, which the parliament had found means to get into their possession, and which he doubted would hardly be effected by any other expedient, at least so soon. Several untoward circumstances concurred towards preventing the king's accepting this proposition. His Majesty was exceedingly offended with the earl's former carriage. He had no great opinion of his power with those of his own party, when he had not been able to prevail for enlarging the time for the treaty, and apprehended he might suffer in his honour by such a concession in favour of a person who had requited the many graces his Majesty had hitherto bestowed on him so unworthily. But what determined him was, he had promised the queen, at her departure for Holland, to receive no person into favour or trust, who had disobliged him, without her privity; and though that princess landed in England about the time that the treaty began, or rather on the 22d of February preceding it, yet she did not arrive at Oxford till the 13th of July following, the day on which the parliament received that memorable defeat in the action at Roundway-down; and, for want of her presence, this overture, that might have been of the utmost importance to the king's cause, was unhappily rejected.

In the month of September in the same year they sent their orders to the earl of Warwick to attempt the relief of Exeter, which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent success; for sailing up the river, which runs by the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying succour that way into the place, he found some works thrown up on the shore, which hindered him from disturbing the besiegers so much as he expected; and yet, lying there too long with this view, the tide falling, he was forced to leave three of his ships behind him, two of which were taken, and the third burnt in his presence. He did, however, great service on the coast of Devonshire, secured Plymouth and other places, and, all the time he commanded kept the fleet firm to the parliament.

So long as the Presbyterian party were uppermost, all affairs relating to the navy went on smoothly. The earl of Warwick was entirely devoted to them, and so were all the officers appointed by him. Every summer a stout squadron was fitted out to serve as occasion required, and by this means the trade of the nation was tolerably protected. But in the year 1648, when the Independents came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn, and it was resolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command, notwithstanding the services he had performed, and to make Colonel Rainsborough admiral. This gentleman had been bred a seaman, and was the son of a commander of distinction, but had, for some time, served as an officer in the parliament army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the Downs, it put the seamen into great confusion, and their officers, the earl of Warwick and Vice-admiral Batten, were so little pleased with the usage they had met with, that, instead of softening, they augmented their discontents, insomuch that they seized upon Rainsborough and such officers as adhered to him, set them on shore, and resolved to sail over to Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they called their admiral, because the king's intention of making him so was a thing generally known.

Though the king was then a prisoner, and his affairs reduced to a very low ebb, yet, if this revolt of the fleet had been properly managed, it might have had very happy effects: but, as it was conducted, it is scarce possible to conceive how little advantage was drawn from an incident which promised so much. It is true the parliament, upon the first intimation of the growing disaffection among the seamen, had directed but half the usual provisions to be put on board the fleet. This might have been easily remedied, considering that Kent was in arms for the king, and many of its inhabitants went on board the fleet, in order to do him all the service they could. The great misfortune was, that this strange turn was entirely concerted by the seamen; so that, when they declared for the king, they had very few officers among them; and, as they were little inclined to use the advice of any who were not of their own profession, there was a good deal of time lost before they positively resolved what to do, which gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering themselves from the consternation into which this unexpected event had thrown them; and the first resolution they took was a very wise one; *viz.* the restoring the earl of Warwick to his title and command, sending him orders to draw together a fleet as soon as possible.

This revolted fleet (if we can properly call it so) which at last sailed for Calais, consisted of seventeen good ships; and for the present the parliament had nothing near the same force to oppose them. They left a ship riding before the place last mentioned to receive the prince of Wales, and then proceeded for Holland. Soon after both the prince and the duke came on board, with many persons of quality who were now abroad with them in exile. Instead of considering what service the fleet might best be employed in, those who were about the princes fell into intrigues for obtaining the command, and the contending parties filling the seamen's heads with very different stories, that spirit of loyalty was quickly extinguished, which had induced them to take this extraordinary step.

In the midst of these disputes, Admiral Batten came in with the Constant Warwick, one of the best ships in the parliament navy, and several seamen of note. The prince of Wales upon this occasion, took a very wise resolution: he knighted Batten, and made him rear-admiral, his brother the duke of York having before made the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was also a new convert from the parliament, vice-admiral. As the fleet consisted now of about twenty sail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two schemes were proposed: the first was, to sail to the Isle of Wight to rescue the king, which might certainly have been effected; the other to enter the river Thames, in order to awe the city of London, by interrupting their trade; and to enfeeble the parliament, by hindering their supplies of seamen from the outward bound ships: which scheme was thought the most practicable, or perhaps the most profitable, and was, therefore, immediately carried into execution.

The success of the enterprise was in the beginning very favourable; and, on their coming into the mouth of the river, the prince's fleet took abundance of rich prizes, particularly a ship laden with cloth bound for Rotterdam, worth forty thousand pounds. Soon after he entered into a treaty with the city which ended at last in a composition for his prizes. The earl of Warwick in the mean while had fitted out a strong fleet at Portsmouth, with which he came into the Downs, and anchored within sight of the prince. Great endeavours were used on both sides to draw over each other's seamen, but to no great purpose; at last, the prince resolved to engage the enemy, which he attempted, but was prevented by the shifting of the wind, and then, provisions falling short, it was judged expedient to sail for the coast of Holland, where the fleet arrived safely; but those who should have commanded them were divided in opinion, and in such confusion among themselves, that no new course could be resolved on. The earl of Warwick, who suspected what would happen, and knew they could meet with no supplies of money to enable them to pay the fleet, followed them in their retreat, and sent to the States of Holland, requiring them to oblige certain ships, which had revolted from the parliament of England, to put to sea.

The States were very much embarrassed in forming a resolution in this critical juncture: they were unwilling to break with the parliament's admiral; but, on the other hand, it would have been a reproach to them to have suffered the prince of Wales to be insulted on their coasts, and in their harbours. In the mean time, the two parties being excited by hatred, as well as necessity, to fight, it was difficult to prevent it: both sides at first flattered themselves with the hopes of a victory, because both sides were persuaded the ships of their antagonist would desert and come over to them. The first step that the States took was, to give orders to the admiralty of Rotterdam to fit out every ship they had, with all possible expedition, and to fall down the river to prevent the two fleets coming to an engagement. In the mean time, they sent four deputies on board the two admirals, to beg of them, in the name of the States, not to undertake any thing on their coasts, and in the very sight of their harbours, which might affect the sovereignty of their republic.

The prince of Wales was the most tractable, because his sailors, being badly paid, deserted; and even some of his ships and officers, which had lately left the parliament to go over to him, had now left him, and took part with their old masters again. He had only fourteen ships remaining, very poorly equipped, with which he retired under the cannon of Helvoet, to avoid an engagement or insult, instead of offering any.*

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* A pamphlet made its appearance about this time at London, intended, no doubt, to draw the earl of Warwick into suspicion with those of his party, intitled, A Declaration of the earl of Warwick, while that nobleman was on the coast of Holland with the fleet, intimating a resolution to join the prince, in case the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight did not take effect: who was so much offended with the aspersions it contained, that he op-

The earl of Warwick upon this began to talk in a higher strain, insisting that such as were on board this fleet were deserters, and ought to be delivered up to him; but at last, finding that there was little good to be done, he put to sea, and returned home; after which the fleet was put absolutely under the command of Prince Rupert, who determined, as soon as he had the command, to carry on a piratical war: and thus this extraordinary accident, which, properly managed, might have been a means of preserving the king and kingdom, turned to no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided their naval force, and rendered precarious the trade of the nation. These transactions happened between the latter end of July 1648, and the close of the same year, about which time Prince Rupert left the Dutch coast, in order to repair to Ireland. In this scheme he succeeded happily, taking many prizes in his passage, and arriving safely at last in the port of Kinsale.

The parliament, however, had now recovered their sovereignty at sea, where they kept such strong squadrons continually cruizing, that it was not thought advisable for King Charles II. to venture his person on that element, in order to go to Ireland, where his presence was necessary. Yet the earl of Warwick, who had served them so faithfully, and with such success, was removed from the command of the fleet, which was put into the hands of land-officers, such as Blake, Deane, and Popham, who, notwithstanding, behaved well, quickly gained the love of the sailors, and grew in a short time very knowing seamen themselves.

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posed it with a counter-declaration, dated on board the St. George in Helvoet-sluice, Nov. 11, 1648, wherein he testifies all imaginable obedience to the parliament, his abhorrence of such a conduct as inconsistent with his duty and the peace of the kingdom, and a solemn assurance of his persevering to the last in support of their cause; and which, with letters to the same purport, he transmitted forthwith to England.

As for Prince Rupert, he continued cruizing and making prizes throughout the greatest part of the year 1649, while the war continued hot in Ireland; but things taking a new turn there, entirely in the parliament's favour, orders were given by the parliament to their Admirals Blake and Popham, to block up the prince's squadron in the port of Kinsale, which they accordingly did, and reduced them to such extremities, that his men began to desert in great numbers; so that finding his case desperate, the whole kingdom of Ireland in a manner subdued, all hopes of succour lost, and very indifferent terms to be hoped for from the conquerors; he at last took a desperate resolution of forcing a passage through the enemy's fleet, which he effected on the twenty-fourth of October, with the loss, however, of three ships, and so sailed away to the coast of France, where he continued to obstruct the English trade, and to make prize of such ships as fell in his way, acting entirely on his own head, and without asking or receiving any directions from the king.

Prince Rupert, after he had made his escape, in the manner we have before related, out of the harbour of Kinsale, resolved to sail into the Mediterranean; but with what other view than that of carrying on his trade of privateering, does not appear. When he came upon the coast of Spain, his fleet suffered exceedingly by a storm, which drove five of his ships into the port of Carthagena, where they were ill treated by the Spaniards, who plundered two of the ships, and compelled many of the men to enter against their will into their service*. A fleet belonging to the parliament, under the command of Blake and Popham, arrived soon after at St. Andero, and the former of those admirals wrote from thence a letter in strong terms to the king of Spain, demanding that both ships and men, in case any of Prince Rupert's were in his power, should be delivered up, with threats in case they were refused. To this a very civil answer was given; and a ring, worth fifteen hundred pounds, was sent to the admiral, as a token of the king of Spain's respect. After this, Blake followed Prince Rupert into the river of Lisbon, where, in the months of September and October, 1650, he ruined the Brazil fleet; which induced the Portuguese to force Prince Rupert out of their port, whence he sailed to Carthagena. Blake pursued him thither; but being obliged, for want of provisions, to put to sea, his highness escaped to Malaga, where he took several English ships. One of these he drove ashore, burnt two more, and forced Prince Rupert himself to make his escape*.

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* We are informed in the Mercurius Politicus, (a paper of these times), No. 3. p. 579, among other particulars regarding Prince Rupert, that while his highness lay in the road of Toulon, in February 1651, soliciting leave to enter that port with his ship the Admiral, in order to procure a mast and other necessary repairs, having been separated from his brother in a storm near Majorca, after the great defeat given to his fleet by Blake, the five captains

His highness soon after went to sea again, cruized now on the Spaniards and Genoese, as well as the

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of the vessels mentioned in the text arrived there, against whom it seems the prince was so highly incensed, as to have it in consideration to call them to an account at a council of war, for their lives, as well for their misconduct in that business as for their having left seventy of the mariners behind them, who were unwilling to serve the parliament; and who besought them with the utmost earnestness to suffer them to attend them to Toulon, professing to ask no more than bread and water on the journey, though the officers had a great sum of money about them.

* See two original letters of Sir Henry Vane, in Nicholls's Collection of State-Papers; one to Cromwell, then at the head-quarters in Scotland, and the other to Thomas Scott (the regicide), each dated Dec. 28, 1650, with the news of Blake's having ruined Prince Rupert's fleet, and the great terror this defeat had occasioned in the different courts of Europe, particularly those of Spain and Portugal; both of whom, in consequence thereof, dispatched ambassadors to England, to acknowledge the power of the parliament; the former, at his audience, presenting the house with a complete narrative of the loss the prince sustained at Carthagena.

English, and having taken several rich prizes, sailed to the West Indies, whither his brother, Prince Maurice, with a small squadron, was gone before. In those seas they did likewise a great deal of mischief, till Prince Maurice, in the Constant Reformation, was cast away; and Prince Rupert, finding the few ships he had left so leaky and rotten that they were scarce able to keep the sea, was glad to return to France; and arriving in the port of Nantes in the year 1652, with a man of war, and three or four other ships, he was forced to sell them to pay the people's wages. Such was the end of about twenty-five good ships, well manned, which had deserted the parliament's service! and the reader will easily judge how great a loss this was to the nation, more especially as it was soon after engaged in the Dutch war.

Admiral Blake, on his return to England, was received with great favour by the parliament, had the thanks of the house given him, and, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, had the supreme power at sea vested in him for the year 1651 *. The first exploit that his masters thought of was, the reduction of the islands of Scilly, which were still held for the king by Sir John Grenville. The privateers fitted out from thence did a great deal of mischief to trade, and therefore might well have deserved the parliament's notice; but there was another incident which made them uneasy at this juncture, and this was the arrival of a Dutch squadron there of twelve men of war, commanded by Admiral Van Tromp. The pretence of sending him, was to demand satisfaction of the governor for about twenty prizes, which in a short space had been carried into his ports by his pri-

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* The thanks of the parliament, with a full approbation of their services, though success had not attended them in respect to their conduct on the coast of Portugal, had been likewise transmitted to Blake and Popham, in a letter from the Speaker, while at sea, dated Whitehall, July 12, 1650.

vateers: but the true design was, to drive a bargain with him if possible, for those islands; which might have had very bad consequences, had it been carried into execution. Admiral Blake in the Phœnix frigate, in conjunction with Sir George Ayscue, with a small fleet, sailed thither in the month of May, and very quickly performed what they were sent for, the governor being glad to deliver up his charge upon honourable terms, and the admiral as willing to grant all he could reasonably expect.

Blake sailed from thence with the fleet to Jersey, where he arrived in the month of October, and reduced it by the end of the year; as he did likewise Cornet-castle, which was the only place that held out for the king in Guernsey; and thus secured the sovereignty of the sea, in this part of the world, for the parliament.

Sir George Ayscue, after the reduction of Scilly, having strengthened his fleet with some ships, sailed into the West Indies, in order to reduce such of the plantations as had declared for the king. On board his fleet sailed Colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who had been sent by such, in that colony and the Leeward-islands, as were well affected to the parliament, to demand relief. This fleet arrived in Carlisle-Bay, in Barbadoes, on the sixteenth of October 1651, and took fourteen sail of Dutch ships that were trading there.

Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, whom we before mentioned, was governor of the island for the king, and shewed so good an inclination to defend himself, that it was the seventeenth of December before Admiral Ayscue thought fit to attempt landing; which at last he effected with some loss, Colonel Allen, with between thirty and forty men, being killed in the attempt. After his forces were on shore, the governor thought fit to capitulate, and had very fair conditions given him; for which, it is thought, Ad miral Ayscue was never forgiven by his masters at home. While he lay at Barbadoes, he sent a few ships under Captain Dennis to reduce Virginia, which with some trouble he effected. Sir George likewise subdued the Leeward-islands; and having thus thoroughly fulfilled his commission, he returned into Europe, where, as we shall see, he found the Dutch war already broke out.

The causes of this war are differently related, according to the humours and opinions of different writers; the truth, however, seems to be, that the old commonwealth grew quickly jealous of the new one, and began to apprehend, that, whatever the rest of the world might be, Holland was like to be no gainer by this change of government in England. The parliament on the other side, was no less jealous of its newly acquired sovereignty, and expected, therefore, extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which it corresponded. The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, whom they had sent with a public character to the States, incensed them exceedingly; nor were they better satisfied with the reception that St. John and the rest of their ambassadors met with; and therefore had little regard to the expostulation of the Dutch about their act of navigation, which was certainly a well-contrived measure, both for preserving and for extending the trade of this nation. The Dutch, on the other hand, were extremely alarmed when they found the English commonwealth insist on the sovereignty of the sea, the right of fishing, and licensing to fish, disposed to carry the point of saluting by the flag to the utmost height; and behaving so in all respects, that the States were convinced they would act upon King Charles's plan, with this great advantage of raising money in much larger sums, and yet with far less trouble than he did.

It was in the spring of the year 1652, that things came to extremities; but it was warmly disputed then, and is not fully settled at this day, who were the aggressors. From the best comparison I have been able to make of facts stated in all the authentic accounts on both sides, it seems to me most probable that it was the Dutch: and this for many reasons; but particularly, because they had made secretly great preparations for war, and had actually one hundred and fifty ships of force at sea; whereas the English parliament equipped no more than the usual squadron for guarding the narrow seas, which was under the command of Admiral Blake, and consisted of twenty-five ships only.

The first blood that was drawn in this quarrel, was occasioned by Commodore Young's firing upon a Dutch man of war, for the captain's refusing him the honour of the flag. This was on the 14th of May 1652, and proved very honourable for our nation. Commodore Young acted with great caution, and gave the Dutch all the opportunity of avoiding a dispute they could desire. He sent his boat on board the Dutchman, to persuade him to strike: but the captain answered plainly and honestly, that the States had threatened to take off his head if he struck: and upon this the fight began, in which the enemy was so roughly handled, as to be at last obliged to strike. There were two other ships of war, and about twelve merchantmen, none of which interfered; and, on the other side, after the Dutch ships had taken in their flags, Commodore Young retired without making any prizes. This affair would have been much more the object of public notice, if an engagement of greater consequence had not happened quickly after.

Admiral Van Tromp was at sea with a fleet of upwards of forty sail, to protect (as was given out) the Dutch trade. This fleet coming into the Downs on the 18th of May, they met there with a small squadron under the command of Major Bourne, to whom the admiral sent word, that he was forced in by stress of weather; Bourne answered roundly, that the truth of this would best appear by the shortness of his stay, and immediately sent advice of it to his admiral. The next day Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake in Dover road, and on his coming near him, Blake fired thrice at his flag; upon which the Dutch admiral returned a broadside. For nearly four hours Blake was engaged almost alone, but by degrees the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the close of the engagement, which lasted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, Bourne joined him with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away.

In this battle the victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch ships taken, and one disabled; whereas the English lost none: and yet the inequality in force was very great; for the Dutch fleet consisted at first of forty-two ships, and Blake's only of fifteen; and even at the end of the fight, he had no more than twenty-three. The admirals wrote each of them an account of this affair to their respective masters, wherein they plainly contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no disproving any one fact mentioned in Blake's letter; whereas there are several falsehoods or mistakes at least in Tromp's; such as, that Bourne's squadron consisted of twelve large ships, which could not be true. Besides, though he insists on Blake's being the aggressor, yet he owns, that his flag was out all the time. The States themselves were so sensible of their being in the wrong, and at the same time so mortified that their fleet, notwithstanding its superiority, had been beaten, that they apologized for it, and sent over another ambassador, the Heer Adrian Paauw to proceed on the treaty. But the demands of the parliament were, in their opinion, too high, and so all thoughts of peace were dismissed on both sides, and the war was proclaimed in Holland on the 8th of July.

The English in the mean time, in virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of reprisal for the late damages, affronts, and hostilities, received from the States-general and their subjects, took many Dutch ships. June 11, Blake brought in eleven merchant-ships with their convoy coming from Nantes. June 12, the Captains Taylor and Peacock, in two English frigates, engaged two Dutch men of war, on the coast of Flanders, for refusing to strike; of which one was taken, and the other stranded: and, on the 13th of the same month, Blake took twenty-six merchant ships, with their convoys, homeward-bound from France. July 4, Vice-admiral Ayscue, (who, in his late return from the reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten merchant ships, and four men of war), attacked the St. Ubes fleet of about forty sail, of which nearly thirty were taken, burnt or stranded, and plundered, on the French coast.

After this, while the States with the utmost diligence were getting ready a fleet of seventy men of war, under the command of Admiral Van Tromp, Blake, with about sixty, received orders to sail to the north to disturb and distress the Dutch fishery. Sir George Ayscue (who since the destruction of the St. Ubes fleet, had taken five Dutch merchant ships) was left with the remainder of the English fleet, consisting of no more than seven men of war in the Downs. While Blake triumphed in the north, as we shall shew in another place, Tromp with his great fleet came into the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of either surprising Ayscue, or insulting the coast. Failing of this, he sailed northward to intercept Blake; but his ships being dispersed by a storm, he was disappointed in that scheme also, and lost five or six frigates, which fell into the hands of Blake, on his return towards the south.

The people in Holland were very much dissatisfied with the conduct of Admiral Van Tromp, which is the case in all free countries, where a commander in chief is unsuccessful. He acted upon this occasion like a very wise man, and one who had a nice sense of honour, first by justifying himself to the States, and then in laying down his commission to gratify the people. The main objection against him was his being no great seaman; and this engaged the States to cast their eyes upon De Ruyter, the ablest man amongst them in his profession. He accepted the command, but accepted it unwillingly; for he saw that as things then stood, the English were superior. The parliament in the mean time took care to strengthen Sir George Ayscue's fleet, so that it increased to thirty-eight sail; of which only two were large ships, and the rest frigates and fire-ships. With these he put to sea in search of the Dutch, took many rich prizes, and at last met with De Ruyter, who, with a fleet equal to his own, was convoying home between fifty and sixty merchantmen. This was on the 16th of August 1652, and as our admiral was cruizing off Plymouth. It was about one in the afternoon when the fleets came in sight. De Ruyter took twenty of the merchant ships into his line of battle, and was then very ready to engage. The fight began about four, when the English admiral, with nine others, charged through the Dutch fleet; and having thus got the weather-gage, attacked them again very bravely, and so they continued fighting till night, which parted them; the rest of Sir George's fleet having very little to do in the action. The Rear-admiral Peck lost his leg, of which he soon died; and most of the captains who did their duty, were wounded, and a fire-ship was lost. On the other side, the Dutch were miserably torn, so that many of their best ships were scarcely able to keep the sea. Sir George Ayscue followed them for some time the next day, and then returned into Plymouth Sound to refresh his men, and repair his ships.

The Dutch gave a very partial account of this business, in which, without question, the English had some, and might have had much greater advantage, if all their captains had behaved as they ought. This the parliament very well knew; but by a refined stroke of policy, chose rather to lay the fault on a single man, than endanger the obedience of the fleet, by punishing many; upon which principle they laid aside that gallant and able seaman Sir George Ayscue; yet softly, and with a reward of three hundred pounds in money, and a pension of three hundred pounds a-year. The true reason of this was, his granting so good terms to the Lord Willoughby, which they, however, performed very punctually.

The war was not long confined to the coasts of Britain, but spread itself into almost every sea; and every wind brought the news of fresh destruction and slaughter. About the latter end of the same month the Dutch admiral, Van Galen, with eleven men of war, met and attacked the English commodore, Richard Bodley, with three men of war, a fire-ship, and three or four merchant ships, homeward bound from Scanderoon and Smyrna. The first day's fight began in the afternoon off the island of Elba on the coast of Tuscany, and lasted till night with little advantage to either party. The Dutch historians agree, that three of their men of war being separated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up so as to have a share in the second engagement. On the other side, the English parted from their merchant ships, which, being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the best of their way to the nearest harbour.

The next morning the four remaining English being attacked by the eight Hollanders, the fight was renewed with great fury; Van Galen began a close engagement with the English commodore; but being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced (as the Dutch historians acknowledge) to leave him. Another of the enemy's largest ships, renewing the attack, was likewise so well received that she lost her main-mast: whereupon the English frigate the Phœnix, seizing the opportunity, boarded the disabled Hollander, but, being too weak, was taken after a sharp fight of an hour, wherein most of her men were either killed or wounded. In the mean time the English commodore, Bodley, being again boarded by two of the enemy's ships at once, defended himself so resolutely, that, by the confession of the Dutch writers, they were both beaten off with a dreadful slaughter of their men, and the loss of both their captains: whereupon Bodley, seeing himself left by the enemy, after having lost about a hunderd men, killed and wounded, with his three remaining ships, followed the merchantmen to Porto-Longone, leaving the Hollanders to cast up the account of the honour and profit they had gained by this encounter. The enemy lost three of their captains in the fight, whom they afterwards buried at the last-mentioned place, where the English and they, being in a neutral harbour, continued very friendly together for some time.

Admiral Blake, who was now in the channel, did infinite damage to the enemy; and, some hostilities having been committed on the coast of Newfoundland by the French, our gallant admiral attacked a strong squadron of their ships going to the relief of Dunkirk, took or destroyed them all, by which means this important place fell into the hands of the Spaniards.* The Dutch, seeing their trade thus ruined, and apprehensive of still worse consequences, fitted out another fleet under the command of De Witte, and sent it to join De Ruyter, who was appointed to bring home a large number of merchantmen. After the junction of these fleets, and the sending the ships they were to convoy into Holland, the admirals shewed a design of attacking the English navy, and Blake gave them a fair opportunity of executing their intention. But, when it came to the point, the Dutch fleet covered themselves behind a sand-bank, which, however, did not hinder Blake from engaging them on the 28th of September.

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* The Count D'Estrades in his Memoirs, tome i. in a letter to Cardinal Mazarine, dated Dunkirk, Feb. 5, 1652, informs his eminence that Cromwell had made him an offer by one Fitz-James, the colonel of his guards, to furnish fifty men of war, to join the king's army with fifteen thousand foot, to pay two millions, and to declare war against Spain, if they would surrender Dunkirk to him rather than to the Spaniards; which proposal the cardinal approved, as appears by his answer to the count, dated Poictiers, March 2, 1652, and which, as he says, would have been accepted, if Mr. De Chateauneuf had not opposed it so strongly, as that the queen could not be induced to give her consent.

He divided his fleet into three squadrons; the first commanded by himself, the second by Vice-admiral Penn, and the third by Rear-admiral Bourne. It was about three when the engagement began, and the English quickly discovered their rashness in attacking an enemy under such disadvantages; for the Sovereign, a new ship, struck immediately on the sands, and so did several others; but, getting off again, the English fleet stood aloof till De Witte came freely from his advantages to a fair engagement, which was boldly begun by Bourne, and gallantly seconded by the rest of the fleet. A Dutch man of war, attempting to board the Sovereign was sunk by her side, and this by the first discharge she made. Soon after, a Dutch rear-admiral was taken by Captain Mildmay, and two other men of war sunk, a third blowing up before the end of the fight. De Witte was then glad to retire, and was pursued by the English fleet as long as it was light. The next day they continued the chace, till they were within twelve leagues of the Dutch shore, and then seeing the Dutch fleet entering into the Goree, Blake returned in triumph to the Downs, and thence into port, having lost about 300 men, and having as many wounded. For the reception of the latter the parliament took care to provide hospitals near Dover and Deal, and sent also their thanks to the admiral and his officers.

The Dutch writers pretend they lost no ships.

They admit, however, that one was taken, but add, this vessel, being afterwards deserted, was brought safe into port. De Witte fairly confessed the loss, and charged it first on the bad behaviour of no less than twenty of his captains, who withdrew out of the line of battle, and next on the States having bad intelligence, the English fleet being more numerous, and composed of ships of greater bulk than he expected. These excuses were certainly true, and yet the people used their admirals so ill, that De Ruyter grew desirous of throwing up his commission, and De Witte fell sick upon it. The States, however, behaved with great prudence and courage, repaired and augmented their fleet to eighty sail in six weeks time, and then engaged Admiral Van Tromp to take the command of them, though some say, that the king of Denmark drew them into this resolution by promising them a powerful squadron of his ships, provided Tromp had the command.

This prince had very unadvisedly engaged himself in a quarrel with the parliament by detaining, at the request of the Dutch, a fleet of 20 English ships in the harbour of Copenhagen. At first he pretended that he did it for their safety, and, therefore, Commodore Ball was sent with a squadron of eighteen sail to convoy them home, when his Danish Majesty declared his resolution to keep them, and the fear he was under for the consequences of this strange and inconsiderate step, induced him to offer the Dutch his assistance. This fell out happily for them; for the English now filled their ports with Dutch prizes, while the people of Holland, suffering in so tender a point, began to lose all patience; which forced the States to hurry out Tromp with his ships, in order to convoy a fleet of about 300 merchantmen through the channel.

It being now the beginning of November, Blake, who thought the season of action over, had detached twenty of his ships for the security of the Newcastle colliers; twelve more were sent to Plymouth, and fifteen were retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had received in a storm. Admiral Tromp having intelligence of this, and that Blake had with him no more than thirty-seven ships, and many of these but thinly manned, resolved to attack him in the Downs, not far from the place where they had fought before. On the 29th of November he presented himself before the English fleet, and Blake, after holding a council of war, resolved to engage notwithstanding this great inequality: but, the wind rising, they were obliged to defer fighting till next day; and that night our fleet rode a little above Dover road. In the morning both fleets plied westward, Blake having the weather-gage. About eleven the battle began with great fury; but very unluckily for the English, half of their small fleet could not engage. The Triumph, in which Blake was in person, the Victory, and the Vanguard bore almost the whole stress of the fight, having twenty Dutch men of war upon them at once; and yet they fought it out till it was dark. Late in the evening the Garland, commanded by Captain Batten, and the Bonaventure, Captain Hookston, clapped Van Tromp aboard, killed his secretary and purser by his side, and had certainly taken his ship, if they had not been boarded by two Dutch flags, by whom, after their captains were killed, both these ships were taken. Blake, who saw this with indignation, pushed so far to their relief, that he was very near sharing the same fate, if the Vanguard and Sapphire had not stood by him with the utmost resolution, and at last brought him off. The Hercules was run ashore in the retreat; and, if the night had not sheltered them, most of the ships that were engaged must have been lost; but they took the advantage of its obscurity, and retired first to Dover, and then into the river.

Admiral Tromp continued a day or two in the Downs, sailed from thence towards Calais, took part of the Barbadoes fleet, and some other prizes, and then sailed to the Isle of Rhe with a broom at his top-mast-head, intimating that he would sweep the narrow seas of English ships. There appears, however, no such reason for boasting as the Dutch writers suggest; their fleet had, indeed, many advantages; yet they bought their success very dearly, one of their best ships being blown up, and two ships of their admirals in a manner disabled.

The parliament shewed their steadiness by caressing Blake after his defeat, and naming him, in conjunction with Deane and Monk, their generals at sea for another year. In order to the more speedy manning the navy, they issued a proclamation, offering considerable rewards to such as entered themselves within the space of forty days; they also raised the sailors pay from nineteen to twenty-four shillings a month: and this had so good an effect, that in six weeks time they had a fleet ready to put to sea of sixty men of war; forty under Blake in the river, and twenty more at Portsmouth. On the 11th of February both fleets joined near Beachy-head, and thence Admiral Blake sailed over against Portland, where he lay across the channel, in order to welcome Tromp on his return. This was a kind of surprise on the Dutch admiral, who did not think it possible, after the late defeat, for the parliament to fit out in so short a space a fleet capable of facing him again. He had between two and three hundred merchant ships under convoy, and was, therefore, much amazed, when, sailing up the channel, he found Blake so stationed, that it was impossible to avoid fighting. English and Dutch authors vary pretty much as to the strength of their respective fleets; but, by comparing both the admirals letters, I apprehend they were nearly equal, each having about seventy sail.

The Generals Blake and Deane were both on board the Triumph, and with twelve stout ships led their fleet, and fell in first with the Dutch on the 18th of

February, 1653, about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the rest of the fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by Lawson in the Fairfax, and Captain Mildmay in the Vanguard. In the Triumph Blake was wounded in the thigh with a piece of iron, and the same piece of iron tore General Deane's coat and breeches. Captain Ball, who commanded the ship, was shot dead, and fell at Blake's feet; his secretary Mr. Sparrow was likewise killed receiving his orders: he lost besides these an hundred seamen, and the rest were most of them wounded, and his ship so miserably shattered, that it had little share in the two next days fights.

In the Fairfax there were an hundred men killed, and the ship wretchedly torn; the Vanguard lost her captain and abundance of men. The Prosperous, a ship of forty-four guns, was boarded by De Ruyter, and taken; but, De Ruyter's ship being in that instant boarded by an English man of war, Captain Vesey in the Merlin frigate entered the Prosperous, and retook her. The Assistance, vice-admiral of the blue squadron, was disabled in the beginning of the fight, and brought off to Portsmouth, whither the Advice quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the sea. Tromp, who was long engaged with Blake, lost most of his officers, and had his ship disabled; De Ruyter lost his main and fore-top-mast, and very narrowly escaped being taken. One Dutch man of war was blown up; six more were either sunk or taken: the latter had their rigging so clotted with blood and brains, that it was impossible to look upon them but with horror.

Friday night was spent in repairing the damage, and making the necessary dispositions for a second engagement. On Saturday morning the enemy was seen again seven leagues off Weymouth, whither the English plied, and came up with them in the afternoon about three leagues to the north west of the Isle of Wight. Tromp had drawn again his fleet together, and ranged it in the form of an half-moon, inclosing the merchant ships within a semi-circle, and in that posture he maintained a retreating fight. The English made several desperate attacks, striving to break through to the merchant ships: on which occasion De Ruyter's ship was again so roughly treated, that she was towed out of the fleet. At last the merchantmen, finding they could be no longer protected, began to shift for themselves, throwing part of their goods overboard for the greater expedition. According to Blake's own letter, eight men of war and fourteen or sixteen merchant ships were taken, and the fight continued all night.

On Sunday morning the Dutch were near Boulogne, where the fight was renewed, but with little effect. Tromp had slipped away in the dark with his merchantmen to Calais-sands, where he anchored that day with forty sail; the wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our fleet pursuing but slowly; as for Blake, though he feared not Dutchmen, yet he dreaded their shallow coasts: however, the Captains Lawson, Marten, and Graver took each a Dutch man of war; Penn picked up many of their merchantmen. On the whole, the Dutch had the better the first day, lost ground the second, and were clearly beaten the third. They lost eleven men of war, their own accounts say but nine, thirty merchantmen, fifteen hundred men killed, and as many wounded. As for the English, they lost only the Sampson, which Captain Button, finding disabled, sunk of his own accord; as to their men, it is certain their loss was little inferior to the Dutch.

It is remarkable, that in this fight Blake, who had been long a land-officer, made use of a good body of soldiers, and with all the success he could wish: yet this is no precedent in any but such a war as this was, since these troops had no time to languish or grow sick, but were engaged almost as soon as they were put on board. The people contributed readily and plentifully to the relief of our wounded seamen, and the Dutch on their side complimented Tromp on his conduct, which was, certainly, no more than he deserved.

In the mean time, things went but ill in the Streights, where an English and Dutch squadron lay together in the road of Leghorn. An action happened there which deserves to be related, because there appears as much true bravery and maritime skill in the English officers who had the misfortune to be beaten, as ever rendered a victory conspicuous; and it ought to be the business of an historian, to celebrate merit rather than success.

The English squadron consisted of six ships,* as described below, commanded by Commodore Appleton, who took this opportunity of lying so near the Dutch squadron, to send three boats manned with resolute seamen, and commanded by one Captain Cox, to execute a design upon the ship Phœnix, which had been taken from the English in the rencounter near Elba, and which, at this time, made a part of the enemy's squadron. This design was undertaken on the 26th of November, 1652, and it succeeded so well, that the ship being boarded by the English, the Dutch were so surprised, that they made but little resistance; and young Van Tromp, who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water to avoid being taken. The action was performed with such expedition, that before the Dutch, who lay next her, were well apprized of what had happened, she was carried away. But the great duke of Tuscany being informed of this adventure, and judging it to be a violation of the neutrality of that port, he ordered the English either to restore the Phœnix, or to depart from thence. To

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* *Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*
The Leopard	52	180	Levant-Merchant	28	60
Bonaventure	44	150	Pilgrim	30	70
Sampson	36	90	Mary	30	70

depart was not without danger: for Van Galen, with the whole strength of the enemy in those seas, consisting of sixteen men of war, a fire-ship, and several stout merchant-ships (the crews of which were offered a share of the booty if they would engage), lay ready before the harbour to intercept them.*

Yet they rather chose to run all hazards, than to deliver up the ship. With this resolution they dispatched advice to Commodore Bodley, who lay at the island of Elba with two men of war, a fire-ship, and the four merchant-ships which were in the former engagement with Van Galen; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that Bodley, with his small squadron, though unfit for action, partly from the loss of men in the late fight, partly on account of the merchant-ships under their convoy, which were laden with fifteen hundred bales of silk, and other valuable goods, should appear about the time fixed, within sight of Leghorn, in order to amuse the Dutch, and thereby, if possible, to draw them from before the harbour, and so open a passage for Appleton to escape. According to this agreement, Bodley, on the second of March, 1653, came within sight of the place. On the third, he caused three or four of his best sailors to approach the enemy, who were stationed before the port: whereupon, their whole squadron, as was expected, stood to sea, and gave them chase. Appleton perceiving this, took the opportunity to weigh and come out; but a little too soon: for the Dutch, being aware of their design, immediately gave over the chace, and, tacking about, fell upon Appleton's squadron with nine of their men of war, while the rest observed Bodley.

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* The grand duke, by his letters of the 7th and 9th of December, 1652, and more at large by Signior Almerie Salvetti his minister in England, complained loudly of the violation of his port, and of Appleton's behaviour on that occasion, and insisted on a proper satisfaction. The parliament were so highly offended with the misconduct of the commodore, that they referred the whole matter to the council of state, who sent immediate orders to Appleton, to return home by land, without the least delay; wrote a most obliging answer to the grand duke, which bears date the 14th of the same month, and which they dispatched on purpose by an express, testifying their great concern for the accident; and an assurance, that such a course should be taken with the commodore as should sufficiently manifest to all the world, they could no less brook the violation of his right, than the infringement of their own authority, which had been trampled upon in this instance, contrary to those repeated commands to their chief officers and captains arriving in his ports, which was, to carry themselves with the most respectful observance possible. And in regard to the ship Phœnix, they promise, after hearing Appleton, and farther conference with his resident, to pronounce such a sentence as shall be agreeable to justice and equity.

At the first encounter, an unfortunate shot from Van Galen's ship set fire to the Bonaventure, which blew up, though not unrevenged; for, at the same time, a shot from that ship broke Van Galen's leg, of which hurt he soon after died. In the mean time, Appleton was attacked by two of the Hollanders at once, against whom he maintained a close fight of four or five hours, with such resolution, that both the Dutch ships were, at length, so disabled, that they scarce fired a shot; Van Galen seeing the resolution of the English commodore, and going, though desperately wounded, to the assistance of his friends, was in great danger by a fire-ship sent from Bodley's squadron.

But another ship coming to the assistance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, they renewed the attack with greater vigour. Some Dutch writers report, that Appleton finding himself oppressed by such unequal numbers, after having made all possible resistance, ran down, and would have blown up his ship; but that, being hindered by his seamen, he was obliged to yield. The young Van Tromp attacked the Sampson, and was beaten off after a desperate fight; but the Sampson was soon after burnt by a fire-ship. The Levant-Merchant being encountered by one of the enemy's ships, beat her off, and stranded her. But being, at last, taken, together with the

Pilgrim, which had lost her main and mizen-masts in the fight, the Mary, thus left alone, made her escape, and joined the nearest ships of Bodley's squadron, which put an end to the engagement.

Before we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer home, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of the great change made in our civil government by Cromwell, who, on the 20th of April, 1653, entered the House of Commons, and dissolved the parliament by force. An action stupendous in itself, and which seems to have struck too many of our own and of foreign historians with want of discernment.

They attribute to Cromwell, whatever was done after the murder of the king; and the Dutch historians particularly impute this war to him, and amongst other reasons for his dissolving the parliament, make this to have been one, that he suspected they were inclined to peace; whereas, in truth, never two governments were less alike, than those of the parliament and the protector; the former acted upon national principles, the latter from private views. The Dutch war was the parliament's war, begun upon the old quarrel, which King Charles would have prosecuted, had he been able. It is true, that Cromwell carried on the war, but it was only till he could make such a peace as served his turn; and our noble historian rightly observes, that it was the parliament's persisting in carrying on this war, that compelled Cromwell to act sooner than he would have done; from his foresight, that if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not so easily be overturned at home by their own creatures.

It must be confessed, that the Dutch did not instantly receive any great benefit from this sudden revolution; but then it must be considered, that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in this measure. The government of the parliament was a government of order and laws, however they came by their authority, the government of the general, afterwards protector, was entirely military: no wonder, therefore, that both the navy and the army were pleased with him. Some advantage, however, the enemy certainly reaped from this change in English affairs; for Van Tromp conveyed a great fleet of merchantmen of the north, for they were now forced to try that route rather than the channel, and though our navy followed him to the height of Aberdeen, yet it was to no purpose: he escaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an opportunity of coming into the Downs, making some prizes, and battering Dover-castle.* This scene of triumph lasted but a bare week; for Tromp came thither on the 26th of May, and on the last of that month he had intelligence, that Monk and Deane, who commanded the English fleet, were approaching, and that their whole fleet consisted of ninety-five sail of men of war, and five fire-ships. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war, and six fire-ships, and both fleets were commanded by men the most remarkable for courage and conduct in either nation; so that it was generally conceived this battle would prove decisive.

On the 2d of June in the morning, the English fleet discovered the enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great vigour. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the first broadside from the enemy carried off the brave Admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, with much presence of mind, covered his body with his cloak: and here appeared the wisdom of having both admirals on board the same ship; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the same warmth as if it had not happened. The blue squadron charged through the enemy, and Rear-admiral Lawson bid fair for taking De Ruyter; and after he was obliged to leave his ship, sunk another of forty-two guns, commanded by Captain Buller. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Tromp saw himself obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a stout ship, commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen, blew up. This encreased the consternation in which they were before; and though Tromp used every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon such ships as drew out of the line, yet it was to no purpose, but rather served to increase their misfortune. In the night Blake arrived in the English fleet, with a squadron of eighteen ships, and so had his share in the second day's engagement.

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* Cromwell received the most flattering addresses from almost all parts of the united kingdom for dissolving the parliament: but none appeared more hearty in their congratulations, or professed greater submission, than the officers of the army and navy. Davies's History of the Civil Wars, p. 333.

Tromp did all that was consistent with his honour to avoid fighting the next day; but he would not do more, so that the English fleet came up with them again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmost fury; the battle continued very hot for about four hours, and Vice-admiral Penn boarded Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been seasonably relieved by De Witte and De Ruyter. At last the Dutch fell again into confusion, which was so great, that a plain flight quickly followed; and, instead of trusting to their arms, they sought shelter on the flat coast of Newport, from whence, with difficulty enough, they escaped to Zealand. Our writers agree, that the Dutch had six of their best ships sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; six of their principal captains were made prisoners, and upwards of fifteen hundred men. Among the ships before mentioned one was a vice, and two were rear-admirals. The Dutch historians, indeed, confess the loss but of eight men of war, On our side, Admiral Deane and one captain were all the persons of note killed; of private men there were but few, and not a ship was missing;

so that a more signal victory could scarce be obtained, or indeed desired. Besides, the enemy's ships were now blocked up in their ports ; and the sight of a foreign fleet now at their doors had this farther bad consequence, that it excited domestic tumults. We need not wonder then, that the Dutch, whilst in such circumstances, sent ambassadors into England to negociate a peace almost on any terms.* These Cromwell received with haughtiness enough, talked high, and assumed to himself the credit of former victories, in which he could have had little share, but of which he very ably availed himself now.

The States, however, were far from trusting intirely to negociations, but, at the time they treated, laboured with the utmost diligence to repair their past losses, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult task ; and in order to effect it, they were forced to raise the seamen's wages, though their trade was at a full stop ; they came down in person to their ports, and saw their men embarked, and advanced them wages before-hand ; and promised them, if they would fight once again, they would never ask them to fight more.

Yet all this would hardly have been done, if the industry of De Witte, in equipping their new built ships, and the care and skill of Van Tromp in refitting their old ones, and encouraging the seamen, had not contributed more than all the other methods that were taken to the setting out a fresh fleet, of upwards of ninety ships, in the latter end of July, a thing admired then, and scarce credible now. These were victualled for five months ; and the scheme laid down by the States was this, that to force the English fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs should come and block up ours. But first it was resolved, Van Tromp should sail to the mouth of the Texel, where De Ruyter, with twenty-five sail of stout ships, was kept in by the English fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their station, and give the Dutch squadron thereby an opportunity of coming out.

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* There are innumerable letters in the first volume of Thurloe's State Papers, which describe the infinite uneasiness the States and people were under at seeing their ports blocked up. The many tumults and other disorders in the different towns occasioned thereby, and the great pains taken by the Dutch minister in England, as appears also by their letters, to conclude a peace.

On the 29th of July 1653, the Dutch fleet appeared in sight of the English, upon which the latter did their utmost to engage them : but Van Tromp, having in view the release of De Witte, rather than fighting, kept off, so that it was seven at night before General Monk in the Resolution, with about thirty ships, great and small, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark soon after, there passed nothing more that night, Monk sailing to the south, and Van Tromp to the northward, and this not being suspected by the English, he both joined De Witte's squadron and gained the weather-gage. The next day proving very foul and windy, the sea ran so high that it was impossible for the fleets to engage, the English particularly finding it hard enough to avoid running upon the enemy's coasts.

On Sunday July 31, the weather being become favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle lasted at least eight hours, and was the most hardly fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The Dutch fire-ships were managed with great dexterity, many of the large vessels in the English fleet were in the utmost danger of perishing by them; and the Triumph was so effectually fired, that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, and yet those few who stayed behind were so lucky as to put it out. Lawson engaged De Ruyter briskly, killed and wounded above half his men, and so disabled his ship, that it was towed out of the fleet ; yet the admiral did not leave the battle so, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ship. About noon

Van Tromp was shot through the body with a musket ball as he was giving orders. This miserably discouraged his countrymen, so that by two they began to fly in great confusion, having but one flag standing amongst them. The lightest frigates in the English fleet pursued them closely, till the Dutch admiral perceiving they were but small, and of no great strength, turned his helm and resolved to engage them ; but some bigger ships coming in to their assistance, the Dutchman was taken. It was night by that time their scattered fleet recovered the Texel. The English fearing their flats, rode very warily about six leagues off.

This was a terrible blow to the Dutch, of whom, according to Monk's letter, no less than thirty ships were lost; but, from better intelligence, it appeared that four of these had escaped, two into a port of Zealand, and two into Hamburgh. Their loss, however was very great : five captains were taken prisoners, and between four and five thousand men killed, twenty-six ships of war either burnt or sunk, On the side of the English, there were two ships only; *viz.* the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, six captains killed, and upwards of five hundred seamen. There were also six captains wounded, and about eight hundred private men. The Dutch writers dispute many of these points, and some of them will not allow that they lost above nine ships. The contrary of this, however, appears from De Witte's letter to the States, wherein he owns many more ; confesses, that he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he assigns two reasons ; first that the best of their ships were miserably shattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like poltrons.*

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* See De Witte's Journal wherein he tells the States, among other things, he had discovered, to his great vexation, that divers of the captains had retired out of the reach of the enemy's cannon, as well in this engagement as formerly ; and intimates, that if they had been hanged for behaving so before, they had not had it in their power to have acted the same parts over again.

Some very singular circumstances attended this extraordinary victory, and deserve therefore to be mentioned. There were several merchant-men in the fleet, and Monk, finding occasion to employ them, thought proper to send their captains to each other's ships, in order to take off their concern for their owners vessels and cargoes; a scheme which answered his purpose perfectly well, no ships in the fleet behaving better. He had, likewise, observed, that in most engagements much time and many opportunities were lost, by taking ships and sending them into harbour; and considering that still greater inconveniencies must arise from their nearness to the enemy's coast, and distance from their own, he issued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they should not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not so strictly observed, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea, while their ships were sinking.

General Monk himself was so active, that in his letter to Cromwell, dated the 2d of August 1653, he takes notice, that of five Dutch flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three. *viz.* those of Tromp, Evertson, and De Ruyter; and so long he continued in the heat of the dispute, that his ship, the Resolution, was at last towed out of the line; and, indeed, most of the great vessels had been so roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coast any longer, without danger of their sinking.

The parliament then sitting, who were of Cromwell's appointment, upon the 8th of August, 1653; ordered gold chains to be sent to the Generals Blake and Monk, and likewise to Vice-admiral Penn, and Rear-admiral Lawson; they sent also chains to the rest of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of August was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving; and, Monk being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feast in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time. As for the States, they supported their loss with inexpressible courage and constancy; they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public expense;* and, as soon as the return of the English fleet permitted, sent De Witte with a fleet of fifty men of war and five fire ships to the Sound, in order to convoy home a fleet of 300 merchant-men, there assembled from different quarters.

This he performed very happily, though the English fleet did all that was possible to intercept him; but the joy, which the Dutch conceived upon this occasion, was soon qualified by accidents of another sort; for an English squadron, falling in with a large fleet of merchant-men in the mouth of the Ulie, took most of them, and Admiral Lawson, sailing to the north, destroyed their herring-fishing for that year, and either took or sunk most of the frigates sent to protect them; besides, a great storm drove twelve or thirteen of their best men of war from their anchors, so that, running on shore, they were lost.

The negociation carried on by the Dutch ministers at London met at first with many difficulties. The terms prescribed were in number many, and in their nature hard, insomuch that it is scarcely to be conceived, that the Dutch could ever have submitted to them; but an accident, if, indeed, the effect of Cromwell's intrigues ought to be called so, delivered them out of their distress. The parliament, on the 12th of December, 1653, took a sudden resolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came; *viz.* the Lord-general Cromwell, who soon after took upon him the supreme magistracy, under the title of Protector. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon milder conditions, though he affected to make use of high terms, and to behave towards their ambassadors with a great deal of haughtiness, which, for the sake of their country's interest, they knew well enough how to bear.

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* Various medals were struck by order of the States to perpetuate to latest posterity the great and gallant actions of this distinguished hero, independently of the sumptuous monument erected to his memory in the church of Delft. They painted him after death with a laurel crown, as supposing him victorious over the English. Hymns, songs, elegant poems, were wrote in his praise by the most celebrated wits of those times. Nothing was omitted by the Dutch nation that could testify the great loss they had sustained, or manifest the people's gratitude. Gerard Van Loon Hist. metallique des pays bays, tome ii. p. 384.

This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the 4th of April, 1654. In this negociation the coalition, upon which the parliament had insisted, was entirely dropped. No mention at all was made of our sole right to fishing on our own coast, or any annual tribute secured to us for the Dutch fishing in our seas, which had been actually paid to King Charles, and was offered to the parliament; though Cromwell, because his administration stood in need of a peace, thought fit to dispense with it. He likewise gave up all claim to the searching Dutch ships, which the parliament had rigorously insisted on. The right of limiting the number of their ships of war was another of their articles that he overlooked; neither did he oblige them to grant the English a free navigation on the river Scheld. But it is now time to see the terms to which he held them.

It was in the first place stipulated, that such as could be found of the persons concerned in the massacre at Amboyna should be delivered up to justice. This was very specious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotism, who thus compelled the Dutch to make satisfaction for an offence, which the two former kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But, as this article was never executed, so we may reasonably conclude, that the Dutch knew the protector's mind before they made him this boasted concession. They acknowledged the dominion of the English at sea by consenting to strike the flag, submitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the East India Company satisfaction for the losses they had sustained, and by a private article bound themselves never to elect any of the house of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder.

Thus, taking all things together, this ought rather to be considered as a close conjunction between the new protector of England and the Louvestein faction in Holland, than an alliance between the two nations: for, though it be true that some regard was had in this treaty to the honour and interest of England, yet, considering our success in that war, and the situation things were in at the conclusion of it, there can be no reason to doubt, that, if the parliament, which begun the war, had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms in respect both to profit and glory.

Hostilities between the two states had not continued quite two years, and yet in that time the English took no less than one thousand seven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at sixty-two millions of guilders, or near six millions sterling. On the contrary, those taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part either in number or value. Within that space the English were victorious in no less than five general battles, some of which were of several days; whereas the Hollanders cannot justly boast of having gained one; for the action between De Ruyter and Ayscue, in which they pretended some advantage, was no general fight, and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs is owned to have been gained over a part only of the English fleet. As short as this quarrel was, it brought the Dutch to greater extremities than their fourscore years war with Spain. The States shewed great wisdom in one point; *viz.* including their ally the king of Denmark in this treaty, by undertaking that either he or they should make satisfaction for the English ships which had been seized at the beginning of the war in his port.

The rupture between France and England still continued, our ships of war taking, sinking, or burning theirs wherever they met them, and the French privateers disturbing our commerce as much as they were able. An attempt was made by the French ministry to have got France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the States: but Cromwell would not hear of this, because he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the French then laboured under another way; in which he succeeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655 to submit to his own terms, and to give up the interests of the royal family, notwithstanding their near relation to the house of Bourbon. He likewise obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without question, his conduct, with regard to France, would have deserved commendation, if, for the sake of securing his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of Cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizement of a power which was long a terror to Europe, and which he might have reduced within just bounds, if he had so pleased.

He did not discover his intentions in this respect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became necessary. He affected to have his friendship earnestly solicited both by France and Spain, and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the court which deserved best, or, in plain terms, bid highest for it. The first sign of his reconciliation to the French was, the restoring the ships taken by Blake, with provisions and ammunition for the garrison of Dunkirk; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally supposed, that the primary as well as principal instigation to the Spanish war came from him, who gave the protector to understand, that the English maritime force could not be better employed than in conquering part of the Spanish West Indies, while France attacked the same crown in Europe; and, to purchase his assistance, would readily relinquish the royal family, and so rid him from all fears of an invasion. Besides these hints from abroad, the protector had some notices of a like nature at home, especially from one Gage, a priest, who had been long in America, and who furnished him with a copious account of the wealth and weakness of the Spaniards there.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Dutch war, the protector ordered all the ships of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewise directed many new ones to be built, storehouses, magazines, &c. to be filled with ammunition and provision; whence it was evident enough, that he intended not to be idle, though nobody knew against whom this mighty force was to be exerted. In the summer of the year 1654, he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by Admiral Blake, and the other by Vice-admiral Penn.* Neither of these had any knowledge of what the other was to attempt; so far from it, they knew not perfectly what themselves were to perform. Their orders were to be opened at sea, and they had no farther lights given them than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary preparations. Blake, as soon as all things were ready, put to sea, and sailed into the Streights, where his orders were, to procure satisfaction from such princes and states as had either insulted the government, or injured the commerce of England. But, before his departure, it had been industriously given out, that he was to intercept the duke of Guise, and to protect the kingdom of Naples from the French.

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* Penn's sailors mutinied at Portsmouth, some of them threatening to lay their grievances before the protector; their complaints were, the badness of the provisions, the hardships they sustained in being sent upon an expedition already known to all the world, and the still greater difficulty they laboured under of being compelled to go whether they would or not, insisting to be listed by beat of drum as in the Netherlands. The provisions were changed, and Desborough and Penn with some difficulty pacified them as to the other two articles. Thurloe's State Papers.

This had the desired effect; it lulled the Spaniards into a false security, and even disposed them to shew the admiral all possible civilities, who, very probably, had himself as yet, no suspicion of Cromwell's design to break with that nation. The first place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke: the first was, for his subjects purchasing the prizes made by Prince Rupert; the other for the damage done by Van Galen, when Appleton was forced out of Leghorn road. These demands surprised the prince on whom they were made; especially when he understood how large a sum was expected from him, not less, in the whole, than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which, however, was moderated to sixty thousand pounds; and this sum, there is reason to believe, was actually paid.*

Thence he proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March, 1655, and anchored without the mole, sending an officer to the Dey to demand satisfaction for the piracies that had been formerly committed on the English, and the immediate release of all captives belonging to his nation. The Dey answered very modestly, that, as for the ships and slaves, they were now the property of private persons, from whom he could not take them with safety to himself; but that he would make it his care they should be speedily redeemed upon easy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hostilities being committed on the English for the future.

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* Most of the princes of Italy were alarmed at the sailing of this fleet. The Pope was no sooner informed of its arrival in the Mediterranean, than he gave orders for the removal of the great treasure at Loretto, with a view of defeating any design the protector might have formed as to the plundering that rich monastery, which some industriously spread abroad (not knowing the real secret) was his principal aim. Thurloe's State Papers.

The admiral left the port upon this, and sailed to Tunis, where he sent the like message on shore; but received a very short answer, *viz.* "Here are our castles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: you may do your worst; we do not fear you." Blake entered the bay of Porto Ferino, and came within musket-shot of the castle and line, upon both which he played so warmly, that they were soon in a defenceless condition. There were then nine ships in the road, which the admiral resolved to burn; and with this view, ordered every captain to man his long-boat with choice men, and directed these to enter the harbour, and fire the ships of Tunis, while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the corsairs, and burnt all their ships, with the loss of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa and Asia, which had long been formidable in Europe. From Tunis he sailed to Tripoly, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms mortifying to them, glorious for him, and profitable for his country.

The other fleet being also in readiness, and composed of about thirty ships of war, and a convenient number of transports, the protector resolved it should sail in the month of December 1654. Admiral Penn had the chief command, and under him were Vice-admiral Goodson and Rear-admiral Blagge. The commander of the land-forces was Colonel Venables, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was secretly in the king's interest, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to restore him. The troops consisted of about five thousand men, amongst whom many were royalists, and the rest so little satisfied with the protector's administration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them.

Venables had desired of Cromwell, that great care might be taken in furnishing arms and ammunition; that his forces might be properly chosen, and that himself might not be fettered by his instructions. In all these he soon found himself disappointed; his provision was not only short, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very sparingly supplied, and in a manner fitter for shew than service; his troops were either raw or invalids; and by his instructions he was tied up from doing any thing without the consent of others. Before he could acquire any certain knowledge of these particulars, he was hurried on board at Portsmouth, whence he immediately sailed for Barbadoes.

The fleet arrived in Carlisle-bay on the 29th of January 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the inhabitants of the island of Barbadoes, where they stayed some time, in order to recruit and make the necessary preparations for their intended descent on the island of Hispaniola. We have been long taught blindly to admire the wisdom and conduct of Cromwell in his enterprises, but certainly this was the worst managed that ever our nation undertook. General Venables found himself deficient in all sorts of necessaries; and, which was worse, found admiral Penn very little inclined to afford him even the assistance that was in his power. He expostulated with him to no purpose, which made the wretchedness of his and their condition so apparent, that one of their fellow-commissioners said plainly, "he suspected they were betrayed." It was, however, too late to look back; and, besides, abundance of volunteers resorted to Barbadoes from all our plantations, in order to share the riches that were to be taken from the Spaniards; so that Venables saw himself under a necessity of proceeding, notwithstanding he was thoroughly satisfied they were in no condition to proceed.

From Barbadoes, the fleet sailed on the last of March to St. Christopher's, where they met with another supply of volunteers; so that, when they embarked for Hispaniola, Venables had under his command the greatest body of European troops that had ever been seen in that part of the world, his army consisting of very nearly ten thousand men. It must, however, be observed, that they were in the worst temper in the world for making conquests. Most of them, when they left England, did it with a view to make their fortunes; but now the commissioners (of whom Venables indeed was one, but of a different opinion from all the rest) told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had well nigh thrown them into a general mutiny, and it was with difficulty that the officers pacified them with a promise of six weeks pay, which the commissioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this situation things were, when they embarked for Hispaniola.

They arrived before the city of St. Domingo, and General Venables proposed, that they should sail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the sea-officers, who proposed landing at the river Hine; for which purpose, part of the squadron was detached under the command of Vice-admiral Goodson, who, when at sea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ships into the mouth of the river, and, therefore, the troops were compelled to land at the west point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody country, without any guide; insomuch, that numbers of men and horses, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water, were destroyed.

After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been at first put on shore; but by that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the island, and had recovered from their first surprise. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his regiment near Hine river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox, the guide, to march away; and, for want of this guide, the general and his forces marched ten or twelve miles out of their road. Exasperated with these disappointments, and the hardships they had undergone, the regiment of seamen, under the command of Admiral Goodson, mutinied first, and then the land troops; so that the general could scarcely prevail on them to ford the river. At length Colonel Buller, and Cox the guide, joined them, and promised to conduct them to a place where they might be supplied with water; but the colonel taking the liberty of straggling for the sake of pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of these skirmishes Cox, their only guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were at last repulsed, and pursued within cannon-shot of the town.

In this distressed condition a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to march to the harbour in the best manner they could, which with difficulty they effected. There they stayed three or four days, to furnish themselves with provisions and other necessaries, and then, with a single mortar-piece, marched into the island again, to reduce the fort. The van-guard was commanded by Adjutant-general Jackson, who, as soon as he was attacked by the Spaniards, ran away, and his troops after him. The passage through the woods being very narrow, they pressed on the general's regiment, who, in vain, endeavoured to stop them with their pikes. They likewise disordered Major-general Haines's regiment, which gave the enemy, who followed very eagerly, and afforded no quarter, great advantage; so that the major-general, and the bravest of the officers, who, like Englishmen, preferred death before flight, ended their days here. At last, General Venables and Vice-admiral Goodson, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-aways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithstanding the fire from the fort was very warm.

By this time the forces were so much fatigued and discouraged that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, caused himself to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at last, he was forced to leave the care of the attack to Major-general Fortescue, who did what he could to revive their spirits, but to very little purpose.

Soon after, it was resolved, in a council of war, that since the enemy had fortified all the passes, and the whole army was in the utmost distress for want of water, they should march to a place where they were informed a supply of that and other necessaries had been put ashore from the ships. In this march the soldiers followed their officers till they found themselves in danger, and then left them; insomuch that the commissioners owned, by a letter wrote to the governor of Barbadoes, that, had not the enemy been as fearful as their own men, they might in a few days have destroyed the whole army; and they likewise let him know that the troops who had occasioned the greatest disorder, were those of Barbadoes and St. Christopher's; insomuch that they, the said commissioners, who were Penn, Winslow, and Buller, had resolved to leave the place, and try what could be done against the island of Jamaica. Such was the end of this expedition, after having been on shore from the 14th of April to the 1st of May, when this resolution of sailing to Jamaica was taken.

The army was accordingly, in a little time, embarked; but the sick and wounded men were left on the bare decks for eight and forty hours, without either meat, drink, or dressing, insomuch that worms bred in their sores: and even while they were on shore, the provisions sent to them were not watered, but candied with salt, notwithstanding they had not water sufficient to quench their thirst. Nay, after their misfortunes on shore, Venables averred, that Penn gave Rear-admiral Blagge orders not to furnish them with any more provisions, of what kind soever; so that they eat up all the dogs, asses, and horses in the camp, and some of them such things as were in themselves poisonous, of which about forty died. Before the forces were embarked, Adjutant-general Jackson was tried at a court-martial, and not only sentenced to be cashiered, and his sword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a swabber, in keeping clean the hospital ship; a punishment suitable to his notorious cowardice.

The descent on Jamaica was better managed than that on Hispaniola; for immediately on their landing, which was on the 3d of May, General Venables issued his orders, that if any man should be found attempting to run away, the next man to him should put him to death; which, if he failed to do, he should be liable to a court-martial. The next day they attacked a fort, which they carried, and were then preparing to storm the town of St. Jago, but this the Spanish inhabitants prevented, by a timely treaty; yet, before the general would listen to any propositions of peace, he insisted, that a certain quantity of provisions should be sent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his soldiers strength and spirits; and, in a short time, their negociations ended in a complete surrender of the island to the English, as appears by the articles, which the reader may find at large in several of our historians.

General Venables finding himself in a very weak condition, desired the consent of the commissioners to open their ultimate instructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In these he found he had power, in case of necessity, to resign his command, which he did accordingly to General Fortescue; upon this, Admiral Penn followed his example, and delivered up his charge to Vice-admiral Goodson, with whom he left a stout squadron of ships, and with the rest of the fleet returned to England. In their passage home they fell in with the Spanish Plate-fleet, in the gulf of Florida, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of instructions, at this distance, it is hard to determine.

Immediately after the arrival of Penn and Venables, which was in the month of September 1655, they were both committed close prisoners to the Tower, to satisfy the clamours of the people, who then (as it often happens) laid the greatest blame on him who least deserved it. All that the protector insisted on was, that they should confess their faults, in leaving their respective charges; and he promised to release them upon their submission. This Penn quickly did, and was accordingly discharged; but Venables absolutely refused it, always insisting that he had committed no fault, since, in case of inability to execute his duty, his instructions permitted him to resign his command.

His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reason; for, as to what is said of his suffering the Spaniards to carry off their effects from the city of St. Jago to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the soldiers of their plunder, it appears to be a gross calumny, for several reasons. For, first, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loss to the soldiers, but quite the contrary; since, if they had now fallen into their hands, the commissioners would have seized them for the protector's use, in pursuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this respect, without the consent of the other commissioners; and, lastly, it appears by the most authentic account we have of this affair, that the officers and soldiers were so far from being dissatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to represent their grievances at home, and to procure redress; which he did, as far as was in his power.

The reason of his being first aspersed was, a persuasion that he was a confident and creature of Cromwell's; which is so far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command merely to get him out of his way. The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's scheme, which was not either more or less, than to have raised a large supply for his own empty coffers from this expedition. This induced him to tie the commissioners down, to hinder the soldiers from keeping their plunder, upon pain of death; and their insisting upon this had nearly been the ruin of the whole undertaking. The reader must discern the justice of these remarks, from the facts before laid down, which are indisputable; and, as to speak truth freely, and give men's characters impartially, ought to be the study of an historian, I hope this will justify me for insisting so long on this head.

Admiral Blake's fleet continued all this time in the Mediterranean, and was now in the road to Cadiz, where he received the greatest civilities from the Spaniards, and lived on the best terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was struck at Jamaica, Cromwell, to the best of his power, carefully concealed his design to make war upon them. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately against him, and seized the effects of all the English merchants in their dominions, to an immense value; an incident which seems not to have been sufficiently considered, by those who cry up the protector's conduct so highly.* This war, as we have before observed, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own advantage, from a prospect of supplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the necessity of calling parliaments. It is true, that in public declarations, he talked much of his regard to trade, and his concern for the freedom of navigation; and no doubt he was sincere in this, so far as it was consistent with his own power, and not a jot beyond it, otherwise he would have considered the profits of our national trade with Spain, which were at that time very great, the French having never interfered, and the Dutch being utterly disliked by the Spaniards. At least he should have taken care, by some timely hint, to enable so great a body as the merchants trading to Spain then were, to have withdrawn their effects; and the neglect of this was not the effect of any inattention, a thing impossible while Thurloe had the management of his affairs, but the pure consequence of public interest clashing with his private views; and, therefore, throughout the whole transaction, he appears to have been a great politician, but no patriot. I say nothing as to his breach of the law of nations, in attacking the Spaniards, without any previous declaration; because, in the first place, this was not very inconsistent with the principles on which his government was founded; and next, the Spaniards

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* The Spaniards are reported to have seized fourscore sail of ships, and money, and effects, to the value of a million sterling. We are told by Ludlow in his Memoirs, vol. ii. that the Spanish ambassador, Don Alonzo De Cardenas, then residing in

England, having received intelligence that the fleet under Penn and Venables was certainly gone to the West Indies, and that the storm was like to fall upon some of his master's territories, made application to Cromwell, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the king his master; and if so, that he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. Cromwell demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquisition. To which the ambassador replied, that his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. That the goods of the English merchants in Spain were seized for want of timely notice to withdraw their effects; and that Major Walters, and others concerned with him, lost thirty thousand pounds, that were due to them from his Catholic majesty, for the transportation of Irish soldiers into the Spanish service. Thurloe's State Papers.

had broken through all rules of true policy, as well as decorum, in acknowledging and courting him as they did; and therefore felt no more than the just effects of their own refinements.

When nothing farther was to be obtained by concealing his intentions, the protector sent Mr. Montague with a small squadron of men of war into the Mediterranean, to join Blake, and to carry him fresh instructions; the principal of which was, to block up the port of Cadiz, in which there was a fleet of forty sail, intended to secure the flota; and, at the same time, the sailing of this fleet was prevented, the English were to use their utmost diligence to hinder the flota from coming in, without sharing in the riches that were on board. Blake and Montague executed their orders with equal skill and industry, taking care to obtain a supply of fresh provisions and water, as often as they had occasion, from the Portugal coast. Thither for that purpose they had sailed with the greatest part of the fleet, when the squadron from the Indies approached Cadiz. Rear-admiral Stayner, with seven frigates, plied to and fro, till these eight large ships were in view, which he presently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his vessels, because they lay very low in the water, for fishermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the Speaker, the Bridgewater, and the Plymouth, he did his business; and, after an obstinate engagement, sunk two, run two more a-ground, and took two of the Spanish vessels, so that two only escaped.

In one of those that were destroyed was the marquis of Badajoz, of the family of Lopez, who had been governor of Peru for the king of Spain, and who perished miserably, with the marchioness his wife, and their daughter; the eldest son and his brother were saved, and brought safe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them that was sunk. The admiral who carried the flag, with the Portugal prize, recovered the shore. Soon after, General Montague, with the young marquis of Badajoz, and part of the fleet to escort the silver, returned into England, delivered the bullion into the mint; and, upon his earnest interposition, the young marquis was set at liberty.* For this a thanksgiving, with a narrative to be read thereon, was appointed by the parliament, who issued their declaration of war against Spain.

The protector took a great deal of care of his new conquest, Jamaica; and within a very short time after the return of Penn and Venables, sent a considerable supply thither, and a squadron of men of war. These troops were commanded by Colonel Humphreys, but Major Sedgwick went with him, and had a commission to be governor of the island. When they came thither, they found things in a much better posture than they expected. Colonel Doily, to whom Fortescue, on account of sickness, had resigned his command, was a person so indefatigable, that he had subdued all the opposition he met with, and driven the Spaniards out of the island, notwithstanding they had fortified themselves in two or three places very strongly, and had been abundantly supplied with artillery and ammunition from Cuba.

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* In the letters of Generals Blake and Montague to the protector, the deplorable fate of this illustrious family is painted in very moving terms; and the reader, perhaps, will not be displeased to learn from them some particulars. The marchioness and her eldest daughter, a young lady of fifteen years of age, who was to have espoused the son of the duke of Medina-Celi, seeing the vessel in flames, were so terrified that they fell down in a swoon, and were burned. The vice-roy, her lord, had opportunity sufficient to have escaped; but when he saw his lady and daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, in that dreadful situation, unable to survive their loss, he said he would die where they died; and tenderly embracing the former, perished with them, together with one of their sons. Two sons and three daughters, one of the latter an infant of twelve months old, with ninety other persons, the wretched remains of this scene of horror and ruin, were saved. General Montague is very copious in his praises of the young marquis, whom he describes as a most ingenious, learned, and accomplished youth of about sixteen. Soon after their arrival in England, this young nobleman and his brother were brought from Chelsea, where they resided, and presented to the protector at Whitehall, who treated them with great kindness and generosity, and in a short space, as we have before observed, set them at liberty.

It is easy to account for the different behaviour of these men here and at Hispaniola. They fought there for the profit of others, but at this time for their own. They were then utterly unacquainted with the climate, and so less able to bear it; whereas they were in some measure seasoned to it: yet this Colonel Doily, who did so much for the colony, was to be removed, at all events, from the government, because he had been formerly a cavalier. Sedgwick, however, who was to have been his successor, quickly died, and so did Fortescue; and Humphreys, according to his orders, returned home with a small fleet. Upon this the protector dispatched another thousand men from Scotland, with one Colonel Brayne, who was to take the government out of Colonel Doily's hands; but he likewise dying, almost as soon as he set his foot on the island, Doily still continued in the exercise of his authority, and with great skill and integrity managed all things there to the time of the Restoration; and then Jamaica was become, through his care and vigilance, a very considerable, and, for the time it had been settled, a very populous plantation.

We are now to return to the proceedings of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till the month of April 1657; and having then information of another Plate fleet, which had put into the haven of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, he immediately sailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20th of April. Here he found the flota, consisting of six galleons very richly laden, and ten other vessels. The latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, because they drew too much water to lie within it. The port itself was strongly fortified, having on the north a large castle, well supplied with artillery, and seven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with musketeers. The Spanish governor thought the place so secure, and his own dispositions so well made, that when the master of a Dutch ship desired leave to sail, because he apprehended Blake would presently attack the ships in the harbour, the Spaniard answered tartly, "Get you gone, if you will, and let Blake come, if he dares."

The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attempt destroying the enemy's ships; for it was impossible to bring them off: and to this end he sent Captain Stayner with a squadron to attack them, who soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ships much disturbance. Stayner's squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole fleet, who boarded the Spanish galleons, and in a few hours made himself master of them all, and then set them on fire; so that the whole Spanish fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ships which sunk outright; and then, the wind veering to S. W. he passed with his fleet safe out of the port again, losing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about 120 wounded. It was without question the boldest undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed, and the Spaniards, who are romantic enough in their own conduct, were so much astonished at his, that they quite lost their spirits, and thenceforward never thought themselves safe either from numbers or fortifications.

When the protector had the news of this glorious success, he immediately sent it by his secretary

Thurloe to the parliament then sitting; and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be set apart for a thanksgiving, a ring of the value of 500 pounds to the general as a testimony of his country's gratitude, a present of 100 to the captain who brought the news, and their thanks to all the officers and soldiers concerned in the action. Captain Richard Stayner, returning soon after, was knighted by the protector: nor was it long before Blake and the fleet returned, which put an end to the Spanish war by sea; for the protector had lately entered into a closer conjunction with France, and, in consequence thereof, sent over a body of land-forces into Flanders, where they assisted in taking the fortress and port of Dunkirk, which was delivered into the hands of the English, who kept it till after the Restoration.

There had been for some years a very sharp war carried on in the north between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, which in its consequences was like to affect the rest of Europe, especially the maritime powers. The Dutch saw that their trade to the Baltic would be ruined if the king of Sweden prevailed, who was now become the superior both by land and sea; they therefore resolved to send a fleet to the assistance of the Danes, which they did, and thereby saved Copenhagen. In England it was judged to be of no less consequence to succour the Swedes; yet it was not thought proper to avow the design, as the Dutch had done, and therefore Sir George Ayscue, who was drawn out of his retirement to command upon this occasion, had orders to accept a commission as admiral from the king of Sweden, which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his service, than the Dutch did in favour of their allies.

This was in the year 1658; but it was so late in the season, that the squadron was not able to reach Copenhagen for the ice.

All expeditions by sea are liable to great uncertainty, even when planned with the greatest skill.

The protector and his council projected this. Sir George Ayscue went in a Swedish ship with a number of gallant officers attached to him, and resolved to follow his fortunes; but the English squadron was commanded by Vice-admiral Goodson, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George, when he published his Swedish commission. But, this fleet being long retarded by contrary winds, the protector died in the mean time. However, Richard, pursuing his father's scheme, had sent it; and on account of the ice, as is before mentioned, this fleet returned again to England, without effecting any thing, to the great joy of the Danes and the Dutch. This disappointment, joined to the many difficulties arisen upon the demise of Oliver, it was generally conceived that the English would have meddled no farther in this affair. It proved otherwise, however; for a stout fleet was fitted out, and sent into the Baltic under the command of Admiral Montague, who had acquired a great reputation by serving in conjunction with Blake. He had, besides his commission of admiral, another, whereby he was joined in the negociation in the north with the ambassadors Sidney and Honeywood. He arrived at Copenhagen, and managed his affairs with great dexterity; for he avoided coming to blows, that he might not begin a new Dutch war, compelled the king of Sweden, by talking to him in a proper style, to think of peace, to which he was otherwise very little inclined, and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of those high offices with which he was intrusted, he entertained a secret correspondence with the king, and disposed all things on board the fleet for his service.

When measures were concerted for Sir George Booth's rising, which was the last attempt made in favour of his Majesty before his restoration, notice of it was given to Admiral Montague at Copenhagen, who instantly resolved to return to England. His fellow ambassadors, who were very able men, and very hearty republicans, had by this time, gained some intelligence of his intercourse with the king, and, therefore, intended to have seized him in case he came ashore. He was wise enough never to put it in their power, and took care also to run no risk in returning without orders; for having called a council of war, he complained to them that provisions grew short, and that it would be a very difficult thing to supply themselves in that part of the world, there being a Dutch fleet there at the same time. Upon this it was unanimously resolved to sail home immediately; and this resolution was no sooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor, and returned to England, very opportunely, and very unexpectedly.

On his arrival he found things in quite another situation than he expected, Sir George Booth had been defeated and taken prisoner, and the old parliament was again restored; so that Admiral Montague, though he had forty sail of stout ships under his command, and the seamen much at his devotion, yet thought it safest to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in September 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his house in the country. The command of the fleet was then intrusted with Admiral Lawson, who continued in the channel with a larger squadron of ships than ordinary, till General Monk came out of Scotland. As soon as the designs of that great man began to ripen, he proposed that Montague should be recalled, and restored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the supreme power in maritime affairs vested in him and Monk.

Admiral Montague went instantly to his command, and was not a little surprised to find that Lawson and the rest of the officers were much better inclined to the intended change than he expected; and, therefore, he did not much dissemble either his inclinations or intentions. On the fourth of April 1660, he received his Majesty's letter and caused it to be read publicly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders; he sailed for Holland, and sent an officer to the Hague, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him.*

We have thus, without entering deep into politics, run through the naval transactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the most eminent seamen who flourished therein to employ our care. But, previously to this, it may not be improper to observe, that it was wholly owing to the unanimity of our sailors, and their generous disregard to domestic broils, that we obtained so many glorious victories at sea, and spread the terror of the English name abroad, when the English nation at home was on the brink of destruction; that the parliament followed the king's step exactly, in claiming the honour of the flag, asserting the sovereignty of the seas, and looking with a jealous eye on the encroachments of the French and Dutch; that in all our naval expeditions we came off with honour, and mostly with victory; whereas, in conjunct expeditions, wherein land were joined with sea forces, we were less fortunate; that our readiness in protecting trade, and resolution to revenge any insults on our honour, contributed not a little to the extending our commerce, and raising our reputation; lastly, that these advantages were all the nation had to balance a multitude of misfortunes, our country being harassed and destroyed by contending parties, our industry discouraged by so long a war, and most of our manufactures ruined.

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* In the minutes of the Journal of Admiral Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, printed in Kennet's Chronicle, p. 144, that noble person tells us, that Sir John Grenville came on board the Naseby, on Thursday, May the tenth, about ten of the clock at night, with a message from General Monk, that the king's friends judged his Majesty's present repair to London was absolutely necessary; and therefore desired him to sail, and waft the king over, which he promised to do; and sent Sir John over in the Speaker, to assure the king the fleet should attend him, which it accordingly did, the admiral sailing for the Dutch coast the next day.

On the other hand, the iniquitous oppressions, the hypocritical dissimulations, the scandalous outrages on our most excellent constitution, were so notorious, that we must have become very despicable in the eyes of our neighbours, but for the courage and conduct of our seamen. Amongst whom, all parties have agreed to give the first rank to one who brought no other qualities than good sense, and a bold spirit, when he assumed the command of the English fleet; and yet soon became the ablest sailor in it, and as such claims our first regard.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

His descent was very honourable, the family from which he sprung having been long settled at Plansfield, in the parish of Spaxton in Somersetshire. Mr. Humphry Blake, his father, was a Spanish merchant, and having acquired a considerable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a small estate in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, where his family had been long settled. He had several children, of whom the eldest was Robert, whose life we are now to write. He was born in the month of August 1598, and, during his father's life-time, was educated at a free school in Bridgewater. He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he was first a member of St. Alban's-hall, and next of Wadham-college. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one disappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the university, when he had stayed there seven years.

During his residence in that seat of the muses, he sufficiently displayed his temper, which in reality was that of a humourist, usually grave, and in appearance morose, but inclined in an evening, and with particular friends, to be very chearful, though still with a tincture of severity, which disposed him to bear hard on the pride of courtiers, and the power of churchmen; which, as the noble historian well observes, rendered him very agreeable to the good-fellows in those days; though whether there was any ground from this disposition of his to conclude him a republican, is, I think, not easy to be determined. This is certain, that his reputation for probity, and his known aversion to persecution, engaged the Puritans to promote his election as a burgess for Bridgewater, in the parliament which sat in April 1640.

That assembly was dissolved too early for Mr. Blake to make any discovery therein of his talents as a senator; and in the long parliament, which sat soon after, he lost his election. When the war broke out between the king and the parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their service; but where, and in what quality, is not very clear. However, he was very soon made a captain of dragoons, in which station he shewed himself as able and active an officer as any in the service, and as such was constantly employed upon all occasions, where either boldness or dexterity were particularly requisite.

In 1643 we find him at Bristol, under the command of Colonel Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, in which he first gave the world a proof of his military virtue; for, on the 26th of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake still held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces. This exasperated Prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war; and at their request, though not without much difficulty, he was at last prevailed on to give up the fort.

After this he served in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, who was governor of Lyme, to whose regiment Blake was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greatest part of the regiment were Somersetshire men, he had so good an intelligence in those parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprised Taunton for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was constituted governor of that place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the parliament had in the west. The works about it were far from being strong. He had no very numerous garrison; yet, by keeping a strict discipline, and treating the townsmen well, he made a shift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furnish him with supplies, and notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces.

At length General Goring came before the place with nearly ten thousand men, and pressed Blake so close, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took from him a part of the town. However, he held out the rest of it and the castle with wonderful obstinacy till relief came; for which extraordinary service the parliament gave the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and honoured Colonel Blake with a present of five hundred pounds. All who have preserved the memory of the signal events in that unhappy war, allow this to have been a singularly gallant and soldier-like action.

Colonel Blake, in April 1646, marched with a detachment from his garrison, and reduced Dunster-castle, a seat belonging to the ancient family of Lutterel, the troops posted therein having given great disturbance to the country; which was the last military achievement he performed during this war. On the twenty-fourth of December following, the parliament ordered five hundred pounds to be paid him for disbanding some forces. When the parliament voted that no further addresses should be made to the king, Blake, as governor of Taunton, was prevailed upon to join in an address of thanks to the house of commons, for having taken this step. I say, prevailed upon; because this could never have been agreeable to his own sentiments if what the writer of his life tells us be true, that, when the king came to be tried, Blake disapproved that measure as barbarous in itself, and illegal in its nature; insomuch that he was frequently heard to say, "He would as freely venture his life to save the king, as ever he did to serve the parliament."

This expression, however, we must attribute rather to the generosity of his temper, than to his political principles; since, after the king was murdered, he fell in roundly with the republican party, and, next to Cromwell and Ireton, was the ablest and most successful officer they had. One would wonder how so honest and disinterested a person could take a share in such measures as were certainly contrived by men of quite another stamp; but it seems he satisfied himself in all these changes with the integrity of his own purpose, of adhering, as far as he was able, to his country's interest, and exerting his utmost capacity to exalt her glory. These, though noble qualifications of themselves, gave men of less honour, and more cunning, an opportunity of using his great abilities and undaunted courage for the furtherance of their own private views, with which he grew afterwards very uneasy, and some say his discontent swelled so high, that it became at length a mortal disease.

It is not easy to guess what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always served as a horse-officer, to take the supreme command of the fleet. All our historians and memoir writers are silent as to their motive; and therefore I hope the reader will excuse me if I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themselves the rank, though not the title, of States-general, and therefore might be inclined to make use of deputies for the direction both of fleets and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by such as were skilful in their profession, either as seamen or soldiers: for, in their judgment, to command was one thing, and to act another. On the 12th of February 1648-9, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy, and upon the 21st an act passed, as we have elsewhere taken notice, appointing him, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, to command the fleet. His first service was, driving Prince Rupert's fleet from the Irish coast, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave his masters high satisfaction, both in respect to his capacity and his fidelity in their service, which they likewise acknowledged very obligingly. His conduct indeed was equally prudent and successful; for it not only put an end to that kind of piratical war, which did so much damage to trade, but also struck such a terror into the Spaniards and Portuguese, as to prevent all those disputes which otherwise would have naturally happened on the appearance of so new a power in Europe, as the Commonwealth of England.

In the month of February, 1651, Blake, in his return homewards, took a French man of war of forty guns; in respect to which action there happened some circumstances that certainly deserve to be particularly mentioned. The admiral summoned the captain on board, and asked him, if he was willing to lay down his sword? He answered he was not; upon which Blake generously bid him return to his ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then submitting, went again on board Blake's ship, first kissed and then presented his sword to the admiral upon his knees. This ship, with four more, the admiral sent into England and not long after arriving at Plymouth with his squadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament for his vigilance and valour in his station, and was constituted one of the lords wardens of the cinque ports, as an additional mark of their esteem and confidence,

In March following, Colonel Blake, Colonels Popham and Deane, or any two of them, were again appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year ensuing, in which he reduced the islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was, on the 25th of November, elected one of the council of state. When the necessity of a Dutch war became apparent, the parliament gave the highest testimony of their sense of his merit, and of their intire confidence in his conduct, by constituting him, in March 1652, sole general of the fleet for nine months. But though I mention this as a proof that they were apprehensive of the war, yet, as I have said elsewhere, there is no appearance of their judging a rupture to be so near as it really was; otherwise they would certainly have sent Blake to sea with a better fleet. We have already given a distinct account of the first battle in the Downs, on the 19th of May, 1652, excepting some circumstances which relate to Blake, and which were therefore, reserved for this place.

When he observed Van Tromp bore nearer his fleet than he had any occasion to do, he saluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of striking sail; upon which the Dutchman, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which Van Tromp answered with a broadside: the English admiral perceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Tromp upon that point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, and a national quarrel; when Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the rest of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations (the English admiral coming with a design to treat), fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The admiral was in his cabin drinking with some officers, little expecting to be saluted, when the shot broke the windows of the ship, and shattered the stern, which put him into a vehement passion, so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do whenever he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their kind, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, "he took it very ill of Van Tromp that he should take his ship for a bawdy-house, and break his windows." Blake singly sustained the shock of the Dutch fleet for some time, till his own ships, and the squadron under Major Bourne could join them; and then the engagement grew hot on both sides, and bloody on the enemy's, till night put an end to it, when the Dutch retired with the loss of two ships, without taking or destroying any of the English fleet. Admiral Blake lost fifteen men in this engagement, most of whom were on board his own ship, which was engaged for four hours with the main body of the Dutch fleet, being the mark at which they aimed, and which, according to Whitelock, received a thousand shot. Blake acknowledges the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribes his success to the justice of his cause, the Dutch having first attacked him upon the English coast.

After this battle, Blake lay in the Downs for a considerable time, which he spent in repairing and augmenting his fleet, and in detaching small squadrons to cruise upon the enemy. About the beginning of June, finding he had force enough to undertake any service, he caused a solemn fast to be held on board his ships, to implore the blessing of God on their arms; and encouraged his seamen by the example of his zeal on this occasion, as much as he had ever done by his personal bravery in a time of action. In the space of this month, he sent forty rich prizes into the river, and so effectually ruined the Dutch trade, and broke the spirits of such as were appointed to support it, that most of their vessels declined coming through the channel, even under convoy; chusing rather to put into French ports, land their cargoes there, and afterwards transport them to Holland, by land or water, as they could.

In the beginning of July, finding Sir George Ayscue returned from Barbadoes, and a force sufficient to guard the Downs, he resolved to sail northwards, to execute a design he had long meditated, of destroying the herring-fishery, which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the Dutch of the folly of disputing our sovereignty in our own seas. This appears to have been the most judicious scheme laid down through the whole war; because it tended to clear the ground of the quarrel, and to shew the Dutch their error in disputing with a nation, who had it in their power to distress them at any time in the tenderest part; that which afforded a subsistence to many, and was the main source of wealth to all.

On the second of July, Blake bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the Dutch fishing vessels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men of war. Blake attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great supply of fresh men from the vessels under their care, fought bravely, and sold their freedom dearly; but at last were every one taken, which left the fishery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who, upon this occasion shewed the rectitude of his heart, and the solidity of his understanding; for having first threatened those busses with utter destruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he, afterwards, freely permitted them to complete their ladings, on their paying the tenth herring, which was what King Charles demanded ; and where this was refused, he sunk or drove away their ships,

This most important service is far from being properly treated by our own writers ; but the Dutch, who felt the weight of the blow, have set it in a true light. They acknowledge the fact, as I have stated it, in every circumstance, except the taking the whole convoy, of which they tell us one ship escaped, and assign so good a reason for it, that I am apt to think the fact is true. The captain fled, say they, as soon as he heard Blake was coming; but an ingenious author observes, that Tromp's not following Blake time enough, was the ruin of their fishery. And though, says he, the herring-fishery may appear contemptible to strangers, or to such as do not reflect that commerce is, as it were, the soul of some states ; yet it is of infinite consequence in Holland, on account especially of the vast number of ships employed therein, which amount to more than three thousand every year. Besides, there are an incredible multitude of people employed in several sorts of works relating to this fishing ; insomuch that M. De Witte, who computed the inhabitants of Holland at two millions and a half, thought that near half a million acquired a subsistence from their fishery. If therefore the parliament had pursued Blake's scheme, and had stationed a stout squadron on the coast of Scotland, they must have quickly ended this war on any terms they had thought fit to prescribe.

I must upon this occasion take notice of the only censure I have met with on our admiral's conduct, as I find it reported by lieutenant-general Ludlow, who says, that some thought the releasing the herring-busses, and suffering the seamen to return safely into Holland, was not to be justified ; because, by the help of these vessels, we might have been enabled to erect a fishery, and thereby have obtained some reparation for the damages sustained from the Dutch, and by detaining their mariners, they must have been exceedingly weakened and distressed. There is, I must own, something very plausible in this objection; and yet, when it is thoroughly considered, I believe it will appear, that the admiral took the better course. He found most of these busses near harbours, into which they would have undoubtedly run, had he proceeded to extremities. The men on board these vessels were between six and seven thousand. To have destroyed so many, would have been an act of great cruelty, and to have taken them, considering he had already above a thousand prisoners, would, upon the whole, have proved but an imprudent step; so that, considering him as a brave man, an Englishman, and a Christian, one cannot well avoid commending him for so generous a behaviour towards enemies. The Dutch writers readily acknowledge his courtesy and magnanimity, which I doubt not was approved by the parliament, who, however they came by their authority, used it with honour and moderation, and thereby set a proper example to the officers they employed.

His subsequent conduct during the Dutch war has been already thoroughly accounted for, and therefore I shall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the seamen easy, notwithstanding all the changes that happened in the government. He told them, it was his and their business to act faithfully in their respective stations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home; and would often say amongst his officers, that state-affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us. These principles rendered him agreeable to all parties, and gained him so generally the reputation of a patriot, that when Cromwell, in his new model of a parliament, left the populous town of Bridgewater the choice of one representative only, they very prudently fixed on their countryman Mr.

Blake. He was also very acceptable to the protector, though he was far enough from being his creature; Cromwell knew that he was by principle for a commonwealth, and therefore chose to employ him abroad as much as possible, knowing that this contributed to safety of his government, and that Blake's concern for the glory of England would influence him to do all, and even more than any other man could be excited to by views of interest and ambition.

When he sailed in 1654 into the Mediterranean, he came, in the month of December, into the road of Cadiz, where he was received with great respect and civility by the Spaniards, and indeed by all nations as well as the English, who were then in port. A Dutch admiral would not wear his flag while the English admiral was in the harbour; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being separated from the rest, fell in with the French admiral and seven men of war near the Straits' mouth. The captain of the victualling sloop was ordered on board the admiral, who inquired of him where Blake was, drank his health with five guns, and so wished the captain a good voyage. The Algerines stood in such awe of him, that they were wont to stop the Sallee rovers, and, in case they had any prisoners on board, took them out, and sent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour.

He sailed from Cadiz to Malaga, and, while he lay in that road, gave such a testimony of heroic zeal for his country's honour as was scarce ever equalled. Some of his seamen, going ashore, met the host as it was carrying to a sick person, and not only paid no respect thereto, but laughed at those who did. The priest who accompanied it highly resented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity; upon which they fell upon the sailors, and beat some of them very severely. When they returned on board, they complained of this ill usage, and the admiral instantly sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who was the author of this insult. The viceroy answered, that he had no authority over priests, and therefore could not send him. Upon this Blake sent a second message, that he would not enter into the question, who had power to send him; but that, if he was not sent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to save themselves, obliged the viceroy to send the priest, who, when he came on board, excused himself to the admiral on account of the behaviour of the sailors. Blake with much calmness and composure told him, that, if he had complained of this outrage, he would have punished them severely; for he would not suffer any of his men to affront the established religion of a place where he touched; but he blamed him for setting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, adding, "that he would have him and the whole world know, that none but an ENGLISHMAN should chastise an ENGLISHMAN."

We have already mentioned the taking part of the Plate-fleet by Captain Stayner, an incident of such consequence to Cromwell, that the ingenious Mr. Waller wrote a poem to persuade him to lay hold of this opportunity, while the people were pleased with the sight of so much Spanish bullion, to work on their passions, and engage them to set the crown upon his head. We have likewise entered into a detail of the celebrated action at Santa Cruz, and have shewn how glorious it was for his country and his profession, no seaman having ever attempted any thing of that kind before. But there is a circumstance yet behind, which will perhaps redound more to his own glory than even the burning of the Spanish ships in so well fortified a port. His brother, Captain Benjamin Blake; for whom he had a very tender affection, being guilty of some misdemeanour or misbehaviour in the action; he was, by sentence from Blake, removed from his ship, and the command of it given to another.

This was such an instance of disinterested discipline, as must have had a very strong effect on the minds of all who served under him, so that we need not wonder that such extraordinary things were performed by men so strictly tied to their duty. To say the truth, discipline is the soul of service. Men are apt to measure the consequences of things by the rewards and punishments which attend them; and if resolution purchases nothing, or neglect is easily excused, an army or a fleet may, by the help of the land-taylor and ship-carpenter, make a fine shew, but, after all, will prove a terror to none but those who are to pay them. An officer like Blake, who will do justice upon his brother, will be generally feared, highly admired, and yet sincerely beloved; his sailors will be ready to undertake any thing at his command, and his acts of courage will so far transcend what happens amongst the trifling and debauched posterity even of those heroes, that they will be glad, rather than attempt imitating, to style that temerity, which in its day passed only for a bold attempt.

In a short time after the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Teneriffe, we find Blake cruizing again off the harbour of Cadiz, where, perceiving his ships were become foul, and that his own health and spirits hourly wore away, he resolved to sail for England. His distemper was a complication of dropsy and scurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at sea, and wanting all that time the conveniencies requisite for the cure of his disease. In his passage home it increased upon him, and he became so sensible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native soil, which, however, he did not live to see, dying as his ship the St. George entered Plymouth-sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, at about fifty-nine years of age. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corpse, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-house, from whence he resolved to have it carried in great pomp to Westminster-abbey, and there interred with the utmost solemnity, as the last mark of respect that could be paid by men to the noble spirit which once animated this tenement of clay.

On the 4th of September, after the corpse had lain several days in state, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with escutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their servants, in mourning; by Oliver's privy council, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; the field-officers of the army, and many other persons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marshalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the solemnity. Thus they passed to Westminster-bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the same manner, through a guard of several regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, General Lambert, though then in disgrace with the protector, attending on his horse. The funeral procession over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpose, in the chapel of Henry VII.

This was an honour which had been paid to the remains of his predecessors, Deane and Popham, by the parliament; and the protector would not be behind them in civility or magnificence, where it cost so little, and had a visible tendency to raise the credit of his administration so much. But very great offence has been taken at the removing his body after the Restoration. The writer of his life is particularly angry at this disturbing of his bones. A late reverend author, to make the injury still greater, tells us, that, at the Restoration, his body was taken out of the grave, and flung, with others, into a common pit. This had been a great indignity indeed; but it luckily so happens, that the fact is not true.

An order was sent, some time after the Restoration, directing the dean and chapter of Westminster, to cause such bodies, as had been interred in that church during the troubles, to be removed; which we may the less wonder at, if we consider that Cromwell's, Ireton's, Bradshaw's, and Sir William Constable's, bodies were all interred there. The order, therefore, was general, and had no sort of distinct or injurious reference to this great admiral. So far from it, that it appears, by a very authentic memorandum, that, on the 12th of September, 1661, his corpse was removed from the abbey, and decently buried in the church-yard: neither could this be called taking it out of the grave, since the coffin stood in a vault. Nay, to shew the respect the cavaliers or royalists had for him, we need only mention the characters that have been given him, since they come all, or at least, the far greatest part of them, from persons of that party.

The earl of Clarendon says, "He was the first man that declined the old tract, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire, as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."

Dr. Bate, in drawing his character, says, "He was a man deserving praise even from an enemy. Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the Scilly Islands near home; and having attained the office and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of immortal memory abroad. For he humbled the pride of France, reduced Portugal to reason, broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the shelter of their ports, suppressed the rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blameable in this, that he complied with the parricides." Honest Anthony Wood, who observes, that he was admired and applauded by the royalists, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praises thus: "He was a man wholly devoted to his country's service, resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in the performance of them. With him, valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment." We have a fine picture of him by Kennet, in his Complete History of England, and a very fair one by Echard. To this, because the lines were never printed before, I will add a short encomium in verse.*

In reference to the Admirals Deane, Popham, and Rainsborough, we have very few memorials left. As to the first, he is mentioned by Lord Clarendon, as a person raised by his own merit; and though this intitled him, when slain in the Dutch war, to a pompous funeral in Westminster-abbey, yet no care was taken to preserve to posterity, either by tomb or inscription, the memory of those military achievements by which his reputation was acquired. Colonel Popham, was raised to the command of the fleet, rather out of regard to his fidelity to the parliament, and his being known for a gallant and well-accomplished gentleman, than for any skill in sea-affairs: and as to Rainsborough, we have already shewn how he came in, and went out of the fleet, through the prejudice of the sailors against him, particularly on the account of his promoting a very severe discipline. After this, he returned to his command in the army, where he made a considerable figure, chiefly by the favour of Cromwell, who is thought to have had a greater regard for him than for any other person, which exposed him to the fury of the royalists, who having surprised him in his quarters at Doncaster, to which place he came in order to form the siege of Pomfret-castle, killed him.

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* While Portugal shall her bless'd Indies boast,
While Naples glories in her flow'ry coast,
While pirates unto Afric's shore resort,
While Tuscany's enrich'd by her fair port,
While the Dutch fish, the Spaniard vaunts his mines,
To stealing conquests while proud France inclines,
While seas still roar, while ships divide their waves,
While death, for fame, each gallant sailor braves,
Thy praise shall live; and future heroes take,
As Cæsar's once—the nobler name of BLAKE.

In respect to the other famous seamen within this period, such as Monk, Montague, Lawson, Ayscue, Penn, and many more, to whose memory a just tribute of praise is certainly due, they fall properly under the next chapter: for though their merit was first made known in these times of distraction (as civil wars generally manifest great spirits), yet their noble exploits were afterwards performed, and those, too, whence they acquired the titles of honour, by which they are now known to posterity. We shall therefore conclude this part of our subject, with a few remarks on the state of our trade and our plantations.

The commerce of England had been increasing for many years, when the civil war broke out; and there seems to be good reason to believe, that it continued in a flourishing condition during the parliament's administration: but after that, it certainly declined, in some measure, from foreign and unavoidable causes, and in some measure, too, from the errors of the succeeding government. In regard to the former, we must consider, that the peace of Munster in 1648, changed the face of affairs in Europe as to trade, and this altogether to our disadvantage. Before that time, the French had few or no ships: and though it be true, that our trade with France, even then, created a balance against us; yet we were no losers by it, but rather gainers on the whole, because we exported to Italy, and elsewhere, a great part of the goods we took from France. Before the treaty of Munster, we had the whole Spanish trade in our hands; whereas, afterwards, the Dutch came into a large share of it, at the same time that they managed the whole trade of the French, till, by degrees, rather through the wisdom of the French ministry, than of the nation, it was taken out of their hands also.

As to the errors of the Protector's government, in respect to trade, they were great and fatal, though, not to load his memory unjustly, perhaps they arose from necessity, and were not intended. In the first place, taxes were raised much higher than in former times. He imposed sixty thousand pounds per month, by his own authority; and afterwards he procured from parliament an annual grant of two hundred thousand pounds for his civil list; four hundred thousand pounds for the expence of the navy, and seven hundred thousand pounds for the army: so that the whole revenue came to one million three hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, a sum almost incredible, compared with the modest grants of former times. In the next place, these taxes were very unequally laid; and most of those burdensome methods of levying money were then introduced, which have lain heavy upon us ever since.* I say nothing of the violent methods taken to raise vast sums upon particular occasions, which rendered every species of property very precarious, and altogether brought such a discouragement upon industry, as shewed itself in the declension of the coinage, in the lessening the number of the inhabitants of the city of London, in decreasing our shipping, and in many other instances.

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* For a comprehensive view of these exactions, the reader may have recourse to a calculation prefixed to Heath's Chronicle, wherein it is shewn, that in five years time little less than 20,000,000*l.* were levied upon the people.

But the greatest and most mischievous of all his mistakes, as to the true interest of England, was in the affair of the Spanish war; for though the state, separately considered, might be a gainer by the vast quantity of plate taken by Blake and Montague, yet the nation lost thereby; since if the peace had continued, we must have drawn larger sums from Spain, in payment for our manufactures; and, consequently, that mighty mass of wealth, which was destroyed at Santa Cruz, was a very considerable detriment to us, as well as to the Spaniards: for if it had come into their hands, we must have had a large share of it; whereas it was buried in the sea, and so the whole amount lost to the trading interest in Europe for ever. Add to this, that in the end the Spaniards were so exceedingly reduced, that they were forced to hire Dutch ships to go to the Indies; and this opened a new scene of trade to that wise and industrious people, which otherwise had never fallen into their hands. Part, indeed, of these losses were concealed at that season from the sight of the nation, by the increase of our plantation-trade, of which I shall give a very succinct account.

As the ill-timed, impolitic, and uncharitable severities, exercised by the prelates, in the reign of King Charles I. drove multitudes to New England, so the distractions of succeeding times contributed greatly to the increase of all our colonies; but more particularly Barbadoes and Virginia, which, as consisting in self-banished royalists, Cromwell, for his own ease, encouraged; and the plantation of Jamaica gave a new face to things in that part of the world, by opening several branches of commerce unknown to us before: this, together with the navigation act, preserved us, as I have said, from feeling all the bad effects, which otherwise must have followed from the very gross mistakes in policy before-mentioned, and the consequences of which, in reality, have been severely felt since.

Besides, our plantation-trade was then absolutely new, and no other state interfered in the commerce carried on in Europe, with the commodities which we then brought from those parts; insomuch that very large and even immense estates were made in a short space of time, more especially in Barbadoes; where some, who carried over only a few hundred pounds, came in a very narrow period, to be possessed of several thousand pounds a-year, which, without question, encouraged numbers of adventurers, and enabled the English to extend their trade, and their colonies, in that part of the world, as will hereafter be more largely shewn*.

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* The reader may receive satisfaction, as to the facts above mentioned, from a work entitled "The European Settlements in America," in two volumes octavo, which alone will furnish an intelligent peruser with all he can wish to see upon this subject, and is penned with a spirit and perspicuity not to be found in the labours of any former writer. This work was generally supposed to proceed from the pen of the late celebrated Edmund Burke.

CHAP. XVI.

The Naval History of Great Britain, during the Reign of King Charles II. from the time of his Restoration: containing a distinct Account of the several Expeditions against the Algerines; the two Dutch Wars, and other Naval Transactions; the state of our foreign Trade and Plantations; with Memoirs of all the eminent Seamen who flourished in his Reign.

WHEN the miseries flowing from the ruin of our old constitution had taught the nation, that the shortest as well as only way to peace and happiness, was to build up again what they had destroyed; the seamen shewed greater readiness than any other sort of men to execute this salutary design; and, without waiting for any further orders than those which came from their own officers, chearfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coast; where, after giving new names to the ships, they received his Majesty, the duke of York, and other persons of principal quality, who had attended him, on board, the 23d of May, 1660, and safely landed them in Kent.*

For this service, Mr. Montague, who commanded that fleet was created earl of Sandwich, had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of England, under his royal highness the duke of York. Sir John Lawson, Sir Richard Stayner, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood, and the king was pleased to promise the seamen in general a particular share in his favour and esteem.

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* See Whitelock's Memorials, who is pleased to observe, that the soldiers at this time were quite altered from their former principles and masters: but the best account is in the earl of Sandwich's Journal, a MS. in the hands of the honourable Edward Wortley Montague, Esq. Sir William Lower's account of this voyage.

In the beginning, at least, of this prince's administration, he certainly shewed a great attention to the public interest, and, as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs, so, for some time, he kept a strict eye on whatever related to the fleet, of which many instances occur in the memoirs of several of its principal officers. In September 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a squadron of nine men of war to Helvoetsluys, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of Orange, who not long after died in England.

Upon this occasion he received great honours in Holland; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people shewed for our king's nephew, the young prince of Orange, afterwards King William, and for the English on his account, gave some jealousy to the States, or at least to such as had the principal direction of affairs, which was increased by a memorial presented by the princess at her departure, recommending her son to their care, and desiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his ancestors had enjoyed. On the twenty-fourth of the same month the fleet returned; and his Majesty and the duke of York going on board the admiral's ship, named the Resolution, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the state of every ship in the squadron next morning.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his Majesty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, the island of Bombay in the East Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last mentioned city against any attempt from the Moors. For this purpose the earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been first visited by the duke of York.

His lordship sailed first to Lisbon, and from thence to Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese governor. The admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received the queen's portion, consisting in money, in jewels, sugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then sailed with her Majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662.

There was certainly no occasion for so large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for sending such a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was seized to execute things of greater moment. The Algerines, and other piratical states of Barbary, taking advantage of our intestine confusions, had broken the peace they made with Admiral Blake, and began to take English ships, with as little ceremony as they did the Dutch and French. To put an end to this, the earl of Sandwich with his fleet came before Algiers the 29th of July, 1661, and sent Captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal person in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders also to bring off Mr. Brown, the consul; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was held, and the next morning certain propositions were made to the regency, by Captain Spragge and Consul Brown. About eleven o'clock these gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an answer, that the government of Algiers would consent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of the right of searching our ships. This insolence of these sea-robbers sprung out of the jealousy of the Christian powers, who would never unite to crush this nest of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to some prince of their own faith, which would have been a common benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time, to shew they were in earnest, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head to the opposite corner of their port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raised, they might be able to defend themselves from any attempts that could be made by sea. The earl of Sandwich, however, resolved to make a bold trial to burn the ships in the harbour, but the wind prevented him; so that, after a good deal of firing on both sides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ships, the admiral thought fit to sail for Lisbon, on the first of August, leaving Sir John Lawson with a strong squadron, to protect the English trade and harass the enemy; which he performed with such success, that, after taking many of their ships, he, by degrees, forced all these piratical states to conclude a peace with Great Britain, without any reservation as to their favourite article of searching our ships; though it must be confessed, that the Algerines, retaining still a strong opinion of the strength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices; which obliged the government here to send fresh orders to Sir John Lawson, to employ force in bringing them to reason.

We are now to enter upon a more serious affair than any that had hitherto claimed the care of the English court. On his first return to the throne of his ancestors, King Charles and his ministers had certainly shewn a great concern for the true interest of the nation, as will appear to any attentive reader of our history, who observes the advantages that we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. By the former he secured the possession of Jamaica, though it had been acquired by Cromwell, and thereby obtained some sort of satisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his restoration, when it is certain that the Spaniards would have secured his person, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to Breda.

He also restored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spanish trade; and the affection of this people to the English, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ships of war to enter their ports, as the Dutch writers themselves tell us. The treaty with Holland carried things also to a great height; for it not only secured the respect due to the English flag, but likewise procured some other concessions very honourable for the nation, and the island of Poleron, *i. e.* the Isle of Ron, for the East India Company. His Majesty had also an intention to have secured, absolutely and for ever, the fishery on the British coast to his own subjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not easy to account; and yet, without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value*.

The Dutch began early to conceive jealous prejudices against the king's government, and in reality to apprehend our becoming their superiors in commerce, in which we were every day visibly increasing. These sentiments engaged them, and especially their East and West India Companies, which then carried on the greatest part of their commerce, to take various steps, in those parts of the world where their power prevailed, to the prejudice of the English. The East

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* Ludlow in his Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 112, says, The foundation of this treaty having been laid in the blood of three of his friends, (Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet all of them regicides), the superstructure was raised with the like-materials; and complains, that the Dutch agreed to an article, that if any who had been the judges of Charles I. or otherwise excepted, should be found in their territories, they would, upon demand, deliver them up to such as the king of England should appoint to receive them.

India Company particularly delaying the liquidation of the damages the English were to receive, peremptorily refused to deliver up the island before mentioned, and pretended to prescribe the places where, and the terms on which the English should trade in the rest of the ports of India. The other Company trod exactly in their steps, and proceeded so far as to get Cape-corse castle into their hands, which belonged to the English Company trading to Africa.

The duke of York, who, through his whole life, was the patron, was at this time governor of the African company, and, being informed of this, sent Major, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, with four frigates, to the coast of Guinea, in order to make reprisals. This was in 1661; and Sir Robert, in consequence of this commission, summoned the Dutch to surrender Cape Verde to the Company within a limited time, yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a small fort possessed by the Dutch, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the English, were, at length, obliged to surrender; and the fort, being in the hands of our Company, received the name of James-fort in honour of the duke. From thence proceeding to the river Gambia, he dislodged the Hollanders, and built a new fort.

The Hollanders still refusing to deliver up to us Cape Corse, Sir Robert was sent a second time, *anno* 1663, with a small squadron, to take it out of their hands by force. But, searching a Dutch ship by the way, he found express orders, as King Charles informs the States in his letter, October 4, 1666, from the Dutch West India Company to their governor, General Valkenburg, to seize the English fort at Cormantin; which discovery disposed him to go, as he thought he had a right, beyond his original commission.

In the latter end of the month of January 1664, Sir Robert Holmes arrived with his squadron at Cape

Verde. This cape is part of the main land of Africa, and lies on the west side of the kingdom of Jaloffi, and to the north-west of the river Gambia, in the 15th degree of north latitude. About a cannon-shot from thence lies the now so well known island Goree, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furnished with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: the former was called fort Nassau, the latter fort Orange. Sir Robert first summoned these two forts on the island Goree; and, because the governor refused to surrender, he attacked and took them next day, together with a ship called the Crocodile, lying under their protection, after having, the evening before, taken two other Dutch ships, called the Visch-korf and the Vischer. In these forts he found a great quantity of goods ready to be shipped for Holland, and, among the rest, 20,000 hides. These he loaded on his own and the Dutch ships, and transported them to Sierra Leone.

He next proceeded to attack St. George del Mina, the strongest of all the Dutch forts; but though himself and his seamen acted with great bravery, yet the design miscarried, and he was obliged to sheer off with some loss. To repair this misfortune, he resolved to attack Cape-corse castle, which, though it was so strong by situation, that 100 men might have kept it against 1000, yet he soon took it and some other places; after which he sailed from the coast of Guinea to North America, where he reduced a Dutch settlement, called the New Netherlands, in the month of August 1664, changing the name into that of New York, in honour of the duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of reprisal, but partly by virtue of a claim of right: for the New Netherlands, being first discovered by the English under the conduct of John and Sebastian Cabot, who took possession of all that northern coast in the name of King Henry VII. of England, had been always esteemed a part of the English-American dominions, and the title to it maintained by our monarchs till the year 1637, when it was first seized and planted by the Dutch*.

These proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the English were done by the Dutch West India Company; the reprisals made by the English were under the charter of the African company; the crown had not either fitted out Sir Robert Holmes, or given him any commission. But, when the news of what was done reached Holland, the De Witte faction, who then carried all at their pleasure, resolved instantly to fall upon the English in those parts with a great fleet, and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their design to repair themselves in damages for what, without any royal commission, Holmes had taken from them.

The chief difficulty lay in sending such a fleet safely into those seas, before the design could be known in England, and the project formed by them, as it was in contrivance very subtile and fraudulent, so it was executed with equal cunning and success. Admiral De Ruyter was at that time in the Mediterranean, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or at least to defend their merchants from the insults of the piratical states; to which end, as we before observed, Sir John Lawson was also there with a squadron of English ships, and the States requested of

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* The short and true state of the matter is this: The country mentioned in the text was part of the province of Virginia; and, as there is no settling an extensive country at once, a few Swedes crept in there, who surrendered the plantations they could not defend to the Dutch, who, having bought the charts and papers of one Hudson a seaman, who, by commission from the crown of England, discovered a river to which he gave his name, conceited they had purchased a province. Sometimes, when we had strength in those parts, they were English subjects; at others, when that strength declined, they were subjects of the United Provinces. However, upon King Charles's claim, the States disowned the title, but resumed it during our confusions. March 12, 1663-4, Charles II. granted it to the duke of York.

King Charles, that these two admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove De Ruyter from thence, and to send him to commit hostilities against us, then acting as their allies, on the coast of Guinea, and in the West Indies. To this he was himself well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and Sir John Lawson about the salute at sea, which the Dutch admiral paid, and Sir John refused to return, alleging, that his orders did not allow him to strike to the subjects of any king or state whatever. In other respects, he assisted the Dutch as friends and allies as much as was in his power.

The majority of the States-general of the United Provinces were not for a war with England, and consequently such orders as the ministers of the De Witte party wanted, to authorize De Ruyter, were not to be had from them in a fair and open way; yet, rather than not have them, the Louvestein faction resolved to sacrifice their constitution. De Ruyter had sent home an account of his proceedings against the pirates: they got this report referred to a committee of seven who were in their interest, and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to sail to the coast of Guinea, there to make reprisals upon the English. But, as this order must be read to, and approved by the States, the ministers took care to draw it up in loose and equivocal terms, procuring also the secretary to read it over to them in such a hurry as rendered it altogether unintelligible; then they thrust it among some orders of course, and engaging such as they thought would be against it, in private conversation, it was read without being attended to, or its importance apprehended. Lastly, it was brought with a bundle of papers, most of them mere matters of form, to be signed by the president for the week, who, as usual, set his hand to this amongst the rest, without reading. This is a true state of the fact, as reported by the Dutch historians.

When De Ruyter received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers, but, having first got such a supply of provisions as he thought might be necessary, pretended to have sudden information of certain pirates cruizing near the Canaries; and, under colour of giving chace to these, he sailed to Cape de Verde, and so far executed his commission, as to oblige the governors for our African company either to surrender or demolish several of their forts. He likewise seized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company: after which he made himself master of fort Cormantin, a place which was built by, and had always been in the possession of the English. But Cape Corse and Chama, two of the places taken by Sir Robert Holmes, remained unreduced. From the coast of Guinea De Ruyter sailed to Barbadoes, where he attacked a considerable fleet of merchant-ships lying under protection of the forts, but was repulsed with great loss. Then passing over to Montserat, Nevis, and Newfoundland, he took above twenty sail of English ships, and so returned to Holland.

These actions on both sides served to exasperate the two nations, and to hasten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the Dutch in January, and by the English in February, 1665. But, before it came to that, the Heer Van Goch was sent by the States to importune the king with memorials and complaints. To which the king's answer was, that he had received no particular information of the affairs in Guinea, and that the two companies must decide their disputes. These complaints of the ambassadors being likewise retaliated by the English merchants, whose incessant representations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of satisfaction, as the constant refusal of the satisfaction demanded was the cause of the open rupture.

Several writers, who have censured King Charles's government, would have us believe, that this war was of his Majesty's procuring: whereas nothing can be more certain than that he was supported in it by advice of parliament, as he had been driven into it by the clamours of the people. The house of commons told him in one of their representations, that the Dutch had injured his subjects to the amount of 800,000 pounds. The king promised to take care of the merchants, and of the nation; and when he found a war necessary, and desired the city of London to lend him 100,000 pounds, they did it very readily, and even repeated the favour as readily, when the king condescended to shew them that the first loan was not sufficient to fit out the fleet. The parliament, as the king had acted in these matters in consequence of their address, and was, by thus acting, on the brink of a war, for which he was unprovided, and had been assisted by the city of London, thought themselves obliged to take notice of this, and therefore both houses named a committee to carry the city their thanks.

These surely are demonstrative proofs, that this was not, as many writers style it, a court war, but a just, and a popular one. Yet it must be allowed, that it was chiefly brought about by the artifices of France, the emissaries of that crown instigating the Dutch, and especially De Witte, who, though a wise man, was their dupe, to do all they did, and at the same time omitting no opportunity of inflaming us against them for what they did. Their design was to engage the two maritime powers in a cruel war, that they might again, as before, weaken and waste each other's strength, and so be less able to oppose the designs of the French ministry, one of which was to render France a naval power*.

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* Coke in his Detection, vol. ii. is pleased to say, he will not dispute the justice of entering into this war, but, that he may have something to cavil at, condemns the precipitancy with which the government embarked in it, and thinks the crown should first have

The first action of consequence, that happened after the war actually broke out, was the attacking a Dutch fleet coming richly laden from Smyrna upon the Spanish coast near Cadiz. It consisted of forty merchant-ships, some of them very large, and well provided with ordnance, and their convoy was composed of four third-rate men of war. Sir Thomas Allen who commanded the English squadron, had with him about nine ships. With these he attacked the enemy so successfully, that having killed their commodore, Brackel, and taken or sunk four of their richest ships, he drove the rest into the bay of Cadiz, where for some time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the same kind befel the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, out of which about 130 ships were taken. Some of these, however, appearing to be French bottoms, were discharged; but the far greater part were declared good prize.

These heavy misfortunes obliged the Dutch, contrary to their inclinations, and indeed to their usual practice, to lay an immediate embargo on all vessels in their ports, by which their fisheries, and all the annual commerce, were stopped for that season. They likewise settled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the support of the war; and, in order to shew that there ought to be some difference between such as are made by trading nations, and those entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirst of dominion; they ordered about fifty English and Scots vessels, which had been seized in their harbours, to be set at liberty; and, on the arrival of those ships in England, the civility was returned by a like release of all the Dutch ships that had been stopped here.

The English fleet was first ready, though the Dutch

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formed alliances abroad. See a very curious letter of Sir William Temple to his brother in his works, vol. ii. wherein he has copiously stated the grounds and occasions of this war, as alleged by all parties. See also Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii.

were the first who began to arm. This fleet of ours consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire-ships and ketches, and had about twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of York, as lord high-admiral, Prince Rupert was admiral of the white, and the earl of Sandwich of the blue. April 21, 1665, the English sailed for the Dutch coast, and on the 28th sent in a squadron so near the shore and harbour of the Texel, that the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month, the fleet was so ruffled by a storm, that it was found necessary to retire towards our own shore.

This opportunity the Dutch took of sending out their fleet, which, by the latter end of May, appeared about the Dogger Sands. They were divided into seven squadrons, the first under Opdam, consisting of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ships; the second under John Everts, of the like force; the third commanded by Admiral Cortenaer, consisting of fourteen men of war and one fire-ship; the fourth was under Stillingwert, composed likewise of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, the son of the famous old admiral, made up of sixteen men of war and two fire-ships; the sixth under Cornelius Everts, consisting of fourteen men of war and a fire-ship; the last commanded by Schram, in which were sixteen men of war and two fire-ships; in all, a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ships, and seven yachts. A mighty fleet, far superior to what the French conceived it possible for the States to fit out, and well furnished with men; but this was by the help of their India ships, whence they were mostly taken, partly by persuasion, and partly by force.

The duke of York being retired with our navy from the Dutch coast when they came out, afforded them an opportunity to fall on our Hamburgh fleet, which they did not neglect; and they were so fortunate therein as to take the greatest part, by which our merchants suffered nearly two hundred thousand pounds loss. Some attributed this to ill management, others, with more reason, to unavoidable accidents; for they had a convoy, and the duke of York sent the Roe-ketch to inform them of his departure, which not meeting this fleet, proved their ruin. This exceedingly exasperated the English, and, at the same time, raised not a little the spirits of the Dutch.

Admiral Opdam, who commanded the latter, was a prudent as well as a truly gallant commander. The great John De Witte raised him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of Orange, he became his enemy, and, as soon as he was out at sea, wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with such a peculiar quickness of style, as proved the letter his, though written in the name of the States. Opdam resolved to obey these orders, though contrary to the advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his sending ashore his plate before the engagement: but more so from his expressions on taking the sentiments of a council of war: "I am," said he, "entirely in your sentiments; but here are my orders. To-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel or with cypress:" and in this disposition he sailed to find out the English navy. That did not require much time; for the duke of York was no less eager to revenge the loss of the Hamburgh fleet. On the third of June, the English and Dutch navies engaged about three in the morning off Lowestoff, when, by an oversight of the Dutch, as their writers say, the English had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to use as well as keep.

Things went at first very equally on both sides, several squadrons charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of Sandwich, with the blue squadron, fell into the centre of the Dutch fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confusion which ended in a total defeat. The duke of York in the Royal Charles, a ship of eighty guns, and Admiral Opdam in the Eendracht, of eighty-four, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, and his royal highness was in the utmost danger. Several persons of distinction were killed on board his ship, particularly the earl of Falmouth, the king's favourite,* Lord Muskerry and Mr. Boyle, son to the earl of Cork, with one ball, and so near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains; nay, a splinter from the last-mentioned gentleman's skull razed his hand.* About one, the Dutch admiral blew up, with a prodigious noise; but how the accident happened, is uncertain. Some say, a shot fell in the powder-room; others, that Opdam's black blew up the ship, to be revenged of his master for beating him. The most probable account is, that it was occasioned by some accident in distributing the powder. In this vessel, together with the admiral, perished five hundred men, only five of the whole crew escaping; many of those lost, were volunteers, of the best families of Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this opportunity of being present in a sea-fight.

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* "The victory and triumph of that day," says the noble historian, "was surely very great, and a just argument of public joy: how it came to be no greater, shall be said anon; and the trouble and grief in many noble families, for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons, could not but be very lamentable, in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other nearest relations: but no sorrow was equal, at least, none so remarkable, as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who knew his Majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had stood in other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears he shed upon this occasion. The immenseness of the victory, and the consequences that might have attended it, the safety and preservation of his brother, with so much glory, on whose behalf he had had so terrible apprehensions during the three days' fight, having, by the benefit of the wind, heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after, by the lessening of the noise, as from a greater distance, he concluded that the enemy was upon flight; yet all this, and the universal joy that he saw in the countenance of all men, for the victory and the safety of the duke, made no impression in him towards the mitigation of his passion, for the loss of this young favourite, in whom few other men had ever observed any virtue or quality, which they did not wish their best friends without, and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and considerable part of the victory. He was young, and of insatiable ambition, and a little more experience might have taught him all things of which his weak parts were capable. But they who observed the strange degree of favour he had on the sudden arrived to, even from a detestation the king had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep sorrow the king was possessed with for his death, to what a prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way." Life of the Earl of Clarendon, vol. ii.

A little after this unlucky blow, the Dutch received a still greater. Four fine ships, the biggest of sixty, the least of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire-ship: soon after, three larger vessels by the same accident shared the same fate. The Orange, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence, was also burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon, all fell into confusion. Vice-admiral Stillingwert was shot through the middle by a cannon-ball; Vice-admiral Cortenaer received a shot in his thigh, of which he instantly died. These ships bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without striking their flags, drew many after them; so that, by eight at night, Tromp, who held out bravely to the last, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ships left with him, This was the most signal victory the English ever gained, and the severest blow the Dutch ever felt at sea.

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* The Lord Muskerry was eldest son of the earl of Clancarty, and a young nobleman of extraordinary courage and expectation, had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders under the duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer. He was of the duke's bed-chamber. Mr. Richard Boyle was a younger son of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hopes, and newly come home from travel, where he had spent his time with singular advantage, and took the first opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. Life of the Earl of Clarendon, vol. ii.

According to our accounts, which upon a strict examination I have always found moderate, the Dutch had eighteen ships taken, and fourteen sunk in this action, besides such as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ships taken, one, their admiral, blown up, and eight burnt. As to our loss, which was far more unaccountable, there is no dispute about it. We lost the Charity, a ship of forty six guns, with most of her men, in the beginning of the fight; in the whole we had but two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty men wounded: on the other side, they lost at least six thousand men, including two thousand three hundred taken prisoners.* Yet some great men of ours purchased this advantage to their country at the expense of their blood, such as the earls of Portland and Marlborough,† Vice-admiral Samson, and Sir

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* Lord Arlington, in his Letters, vol. ii. says, the dissipating the enemy's fleet, killing their admirals, and forcing them again into their ports, is what we value ourselves most upon; and all this with the loss only of one ship on our side, two hundred eighty three men killed, and four hundred and forty wounded. The enemy, besides their ships, will find they want at least seven thousand of their men.

† "In Prince Rupert's ship, (says the earl of Clarendon), who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved himself with notable courage and conduct, there were many men slain, and some gentlemen volunteers of the best families, whose memories should be preserved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the king had sent him with a squadron of ships, to receive the island of Bombay from Portugal, was in this battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him.

John Lawson, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he survived the battle.

The Dutch ascribe this signal defeat in a great measure to the ill conduct of their own officers and seamen, many of whom, according to the genius of the nation, were severely punished. Thus much is allowed on all sides, that, except sixteen or seventeen of their captains who had served in the former war, they had none of tolerable knowledge, or true courage, most of them being the sons of rich burgomasters, brought in, to secure their fathers' interest, by De Witte ; who, though he thus incapacitated them for fighting, yet compelled them against reason, and their own opinion, to fight ; because, at all events, a battle was for his interest ; since, gained, it raised his authority at home : or, lost, it must from abroad bring in his allies the French. This refined policy had well nigh ruined himself and his friends ; for the mob arose, and threatened nothing less than a total revolution. At the Brill, Admiral Everts was thrown into the river, and with much difficulty rescued by the magistrates from the populace ; and such like tumults happened at Rotterdam, and elsewhere.*

There is very little room to doubt, that if there had not been some mismanagement on the side of the English, this, as it was the first, might have been

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The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the son of a very wise and worthy father, who died a few months before : and he having a long and intire friendship with the earl of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himself to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely."

* Three of their captains were shot on the 4th of July, two were ordered to have their swords broken over their heads, and declared incapable of serving more in their navy ; and the master to Vice-admiral Cortenaer was condemned to stand two hours upon a scaffold, with a halter about his neck.

also the last action in this war: for the Dutch fleet fled in great confusion, their captains behaving ill, and their admirals quarrelling about command; so that if the English had pressed them vigorously, as it was in their power, having the wind; so many ships might have been either sunk, disabled, or taken, as must have forced a peace, for which there was a very strong party in Holland, who did not like the dominion of the pensionary DeWitte, and the dependance in which he held even the States, who seldom ventured to do any thing of importance when he was absent. This great opportunity was lost, through the English fleet's slacking sail in the night, contrary to the express directions of his royal highness the duke, before he went to rest.

It is far from being an easy matter to inform the reader, how this came to pass. But after having examined the point, with as much impartiality, as well as diligence, as the great importance of it deserved, it appears to have stood thus: The duke, in quality of lord high admiral, had two captains on board his ship, Sir William Penn, who had the rank of a vice-admiral: and Captain, afterwards Sir John Harman. Sir William was gone to rest, as well as the duke, so that the command remained in Captain Harman, who was himself at the helm, when one Mr. Brounker, who was of the duke's bed-chamber, came and told him, "that he ought to consider, how much his royal highness's person had been already exposed in the action, and how much greater risk he might run, if their ship, which was the headmost of the fleet, should fall in single with those of the enemy, upon their own coasts." Harman heard him, but answered like an honest brave man, as he was, that he could do nothing without orders. Brounker upon this, went to the duke's cabin, and returned with orders, in his royal highness's name, to make less sail; these Captain Harman, without the least scruple, obeyed, which created some confusion in the English fleet, several ships being very near running foul on each other.

In the morning, the duke expressed surprise and resentment, to find they were at such a distance from the Dutch, that there was no longer any hopes of coming up with them. It then appeared, that either through cowardice, or something worse, Brounker had carried Captain Harman orders, which he never received. However, this was concealed from his royal highness, and other excuses made, such as a brisk wind from shore, and their fire-ships being all spent. But the truth was nevertheless very soon whispered, though the duke was not acquainted with it, in less than six months after, upon which he discharged Brounker his service, and would have done more, if the celebrated duchess of Cleveland, then countess of Castlemain, with whom he was a favourite, had not by her interest with the king, protected him.* However, at the end of the war, when the House of Commons was out of humour, this affair was mentioned, and enquired into; upon which Brounker, who was a member, was most deservedly expelled, and ordered to be impeached, but that was never prosecuted.

His royal highness left the fleet soon after, and returned to London, to make a report of all things to the king. His Majesty having attended his mother to the coasts, went on board the Royal Charles in the river, where he made a strict enquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the state of their ships; and receiving satisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour in time to come, knighted the most considerable commanders, *viz.* Admiral

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* The reader who consults the proper authorities, will see very different editions of this story, and I hope agree with me, that it proves, that the fate of nations may depend on very slight events, as in this case, on a private man's telling a lie; that princes should immediately examine and clear up whatever respects their honour; that resentment operates on most minds. Clarendon is for throwing it on Sir William Coventry; North, upon the Dutch; Bishop Burnet on Sir William Penn. All of these could not be possibly guilty; but, for any evidence that has appeared, they might be all equally innocent.

Tyddiman, Captain Cuttings, Captain Jordan, Captain Spragge, &c. after which, he directed that all the ships should be repaired with the utmost diligence, and the fleet, as soon as possible, be put into a condition to go out again to sea.

The king's command; their generous sense of their late victory; and the news of two rich Dutch squadrons being at sea, quickly brought out the English navy, to the number of sixty sail; and on the fifth of July, they steered from Southwold-bay, into which they put immediately after the last engagement, for the coast of Holland. The standard was borne by the gallant earl of Sandwich, to whom Sir George Ayscue was vice, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman rear-admiral. Sir William Penn was admiral of the white, Sir William Berkley vice-admiral, and Sir Joseph Jordan rear-admiral. The blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whose vice and rear were, Sir Christopher Myngs, and Sir John Harman. The designs they had in view were, to intercept De Ruyter in his return, or at least to take and burn the Turkey and East India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence.

They succeeded in neither of these schemes. De Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived safely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet. The Turkey and India fleet consisting of twenty sail, under the command of Commodore Bitter, chose to take the same northern route, in hopes of avoiding the English navy; but having intelligence at sea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impossible, they took shelter in the port of Berghen in Norway.

The port was pretty easy of access, and covered only by an old castle; the Danish governor, indeed, promised the Dutch to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were disposed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line cross the bay, consisting of their largest ships; and in this posture they waited for the English. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of Sandwich having advice of their being put into Berghen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman with fourteen sail of men of war, and three fire-ships, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was against them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the castle, the line, and the ships; so that, at last, he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loss of a ship, though he had five or six very ill treated.

The States by this time, partly by threats, partly by punishment, but still more by promises and rewards, had again manned out a stout fleet. Admiral De Ruyter had the command of it, which gave no small displeasure to Tromp; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in appearance. Their great statesman De Witte, not satisfied with directing all things in the Dutch councils, resolved also to direct their fleets; to which end he got himself, and two other deputies, Messrs. Huygens and Boreel, appointed to attend the admiral. A step opposed by all his friends, and directly contrary to the sentiments of the French king, who was afraid, if, by any accident, he lost M. De Witte, he should not find the States so tractable as they had been for some years past.

The pensionary, however, persisted in this design, and gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before the fleet put to sea; and, though I cannot say that this relates to English history, yet, as it has a near relation to naval affairs, I hope the reader will not be displeased at my telling him, how De Witte acquired so suddenly this high reputation. When he came on board the fleet in the Texel, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimously of opinion, that they must wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two passages. As to the larger, they said, that two and twenty winds might absolutely hinder a fleet from sailing through it; and that in respect to the latter, it was too shallow for large ships to pass. M. De Witte, who was no seaman, enquired into the reason why so many winds should keep them in, and the next morning demonstrated to the pilots upon their own principles, that no winds blowing from more than four of these points, could produce this effect; which experience has since fully justified. Yet the wind being at that time in one of these four points, De Witte went the same day and examined the Spanish passage with a lead, and having done this, he and Mr. Van Haaren, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out two of the largest ships in the fleet, which they performed very safely, and the rest followed the next day; and, ever since, this has been called DE WITTE'S PASSAGE.

The point he had principally in view was, to bring off the East India fleet from Berghen, which was a very difficult thing, considering the English fleet was then at sea. He found means, however, to pass by them, and arrived safely before Berghen, where the Dutch had found a new enemy in their old defender. The Danish governor modestly desired a hundred thousand crowns for the assistance he had given them in the late affair, and threatened to sink them without ceremony, if they offered to stir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they should sail then without paying the money; but in order to have somewhat towards it, he kept the cannon they had put ashore.

Thus far De Witte was very successful: but in his return home, the fleet was scattered by a storm, in which were lost two fire-ships, and some of the merchantmen. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the East India fleet, ships of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five English frigates, which the same storm had separated from our fleet; and soon after, four of their men of war, two fire-ships, and thirty merchantmen, joined our fleet instead of their own, and, by this mistake, were all taken ; which ended the operations of this year.

The French perceiving that the scales were no longer even, but that the Dutch would certainly be destroyed, if left entirely to themselves ; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make such a peace as we should prescribe, resolved to declare in their favour. It may not be amiss, in order to shew what sort of an enemy this court has always been, to observe that immediately upon this declaration, she began to cabal with our republicans, and actually endeavoured to draw General Ludlow from his retreat, that she might send him over to head their friends, as they now called them, on this side the water. By the persuasion of France, the king of Denmark, who had concurred with us in the business of Berghen, and the elector of Brandenburgh declared also for the Dutch ; but the former was well paid for it, since the States forgave him a debt of six millions of guilders, and undertook to pay him an annual subsidy of one million and a half more, so long as the war should last.

It quickly appeared, that France, by taking this measure, meant to make herself at once a maritime power ; for having promised to assist the Dutch with a fleet of six and thirty men of war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by Dutch carpenters, in the Dutch docks; twelve more were made out of large Indiamen, purchased in the same country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of Denmark. Besides this, the French minister, the Count D'Estrades, insisted upon the delivering up two East India ships, of which the Dutch had made prizes, and wrested from them many other concessions, to purchase his master's declaration in their favour, agreeably to his secret treaty in *anno* 1662, which was the genuine source of this war, and a long train of miseries with which this state was afflicted.

When all this was done, the French were for setting on foot a negociation; but King Charles being then in the true interest of his subjects, was (at least to them) very deaf on that point. He said, the Dutch had injured England to the amount of two millions; and if they thought fit to pay so much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all. Nay, the king carried it still higher; for he declared, in case he made such a peace with the Dutch, their allies should be left out of it; which, considering the strength of the confederacy, and that the plague then raged in England, seems to prove that this prince did not want spirit, when his own good sense told him he was engaged in a right cause; for, at that time, we had not a single ally, but the martial and mercenary bishop of Munster, who, though he gave the Dutch a great deal of trouble, yet did it entirely at our expence.

The next year opened a new scene; the king recalled his ambassador, Lord Holles, from the French court, and sent the earl of Sandwich in that quality to Spain: two of the wisest steps in his whole reign; for, by the first, he broke entirely, for this time at least, with that perfidious court; and, in consequence of the second, he concluded the most beneficial treaty of commerce, that was ever made for this nation. As to naval affairs, it was resolved that the fleet should be commanded by Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle; the former to look after the French, who began to talk very high, and the latter to act against the Dutch.

Before we speak of the consequences of these capital undertakings, it may not be amiss to take some notice of an incident which happened at Lisbon, because it shews the gallant spirit of that age. There were in that port a considerable number of English merchant-men, which were to come home under the convoy of the Guinea frigate. A large French man of war was also there, and the captain daily boasted to the Portuguese what he would do whenever the English frigate put to sea. This coming to the ears of Captain Coite, who commanded her, he sent the Frenchman word he would sail the next morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the coast three days, in expectation of being chaced, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchant-men, and brought them safe into the river Thames, the Frenchman continuing all the while quiet in the harbour of Lisbon.

Prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet on the 23d of April, 1666, and sailed with it in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the court was informed that the French fleet, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the assistance of the Dutch. But this rumour of their joining the Dutch, was spread by the court of France, in order to deceive us, and distress the Dutch; they in reality having no such intention. Upon the receiving this news, the court sent positive orders to Prince Rupert to sail with the white squadron to look out and fight the French; which command that brave prince obeyed, but found it, what many wise people before thought it, a mere gasconade, intended to hurt us, and to raise the courage of their new allies, in order to bring them into still greater dangers.

At the same time Prince Rupert sailed from the Downs, the Dutch with their whole force put to sea, the wind at north-east, and having a fresh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coasts of Dunkirk, and carried away his highness towards the Isle of Wight; but the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the duke of Albemarle with his two squadrons to an anchor. Captain Bacon in the Bristol first discovered the enemy, and, by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the English fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein, without much debate, it was resolved to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great superiority.

After the departure of Prince Rupert, the duke of Albemarle had with him only sixty sail; whereas the Dutch fleet consisted of ninety one men of war, carrying four thousand seven hundred and sixteen guns, and twenty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two men. It was the first of June when they were discerned, and the duke was so warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor; and, as De Ruyter himself says in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the same letter he also owns, that, to the last, the English were the aggressors, notwithstanding their inferiority and other disadvantages. The English fleet had the weather-gage, but the wind bowed their ships so much, that they could not use their lowest tier. Sir William Berkley's squadron led the van. The duke of Albemarle, when he came on the coast of Dunkirk, to avoid running full on a sand, made a sudden tack, and this brought his top-mast by the board, which compelled him to lie by four or five hours, till another could be set up. The blue squadron knowing nothing of this, sailed on, charging through the Dutch fleet, though they were five to one.

In this engagement fell the brave Sir William Berkley, and his ship, the Swiftsure, a second rate, was taken; so was the Essex, a third rate; and Sir John Harman, in the Henry, had the whole Zealand squadron to deal with. His ship being disabled, the Dutch admiral, Cornelius Evertz, called to Sir John, and offered him quarter, who answered, "No, Sir!

it is not come to that yet;" and immediately discharged a broadside, by which Evertz was killed, and several of his ships damaged; which so discouraged their captains, that they quitted the Henry, and sent three fire-ships to burn her. The first grappled on her starboard quarters, and there began to raise so thick a smoke, that it was impossible to perceive where the irons were fixed. At last, when the ship began to blaze, the boatswain of the Henry threw himself on board, and having, by its own light, discovered and removed the grappling irons, in the same instant jumped back on board his own ship. He had scarcely done this, before another fire-ship was fixed on the larboard, which did its business so effectually, that the sails being quickly on fire, frighted the chaplain and fifty men overboard. Upon this, Sir John drew his sword, and threatened to kill any man who should attempt to provide for his own safety by leaving the ship. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a short time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the cross-beam fell, and broke Sir John's leg, at which instant, the third fire-ship bore down; but four pieces of cannon loaded with chain-shot, disabled her: so that, after all, Sir John brought his ship into Harwich, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithstanding his broken leg, put to sea again to seek the Dutch. The battle ended on the first day about ten in the evening.*

The following night was spent in repairing the damage suffered on both sides, and next morning the attack was renewed by the English with fresh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with Vice-admiral Vander Hulst, being on board one ship, rashly engaged it among the English, and their vessel was in the utmost danger of being either taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a desperate condition; but Admiral De Ruyter at last disengaged them, though not till his ship was disabled, and Vice-admiral Vander Hulst killed. This only changed the scene; for De Ruyter was now as hard pressed as Tromp had been before. However, a reinforcement arriving preserved him also; and so the second day's fight ended earlier than the first.

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* These circumstances are taken from Sir John Harman's relation, who blames the duke's eagerness for fighting, and mentions his own affairs only to shew, how hard the English were put to it. As to the matters of fact in this account, they are confirmed by all the Dutch authors.

The third day, the duke of Albemarle, found it necessary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He first burnt three ships that were absolutely disabled: he next caused such as were most torn to sail before; and, with twenty-eight men of war that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear. Sir John Harman, indeed, says, he had but sixteen ships that were able to fight. Yet, in the evening, his grace, discovering the white squadron coming to his assistance, resolved to engage the enemy again. In joining Prince Rupert, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir George Ayscue, who was on board the Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest ship in the whole fleet, ran upon the Gallopper; and being there in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to surrender; and night then falling, ended this day's engagement.

On the 4th of June, the Dutch, who were still considerably stronger than the English, were almost out of sight; but the duke of Albemarle, having prevailed on the Prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the English fleet charged five times through the Dutch; till Prince Rupert's ship being disabled, and that of the duke of Albemarle very roughly handled, about seven in the evening the fleets separated, each side being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement fell that gallant admiral Sir Christopher Myngs, who having a shot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another shot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain.

This was the most terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the Dutch admirals themselves say; and the pensioner De Witte, who was no flatterer of our nation, yet too quick a man not to discern, and of too great a spirit to conceal the truth, said roundly upon the occasion, "If the English were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; their own fleet could never have been brought on after the first day's fight, and he believed none but theirs could; and all the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt; but that the English courage was invincible." Of this panegyric it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him who made it, or to the English nation.

After all, it is by no means easy to say who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loss of the vanquished. Some Dutch writers talk of thirty-five ships, and between five and six thousand men lost by the English; which is more than half their fleet, and very little less than all their seamen. Their best historians, however, compute our loss at sixteen men of war, of which ten were sunk, and six taken. Our writers say, the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thousand men: themselves own the loss of nine ships, and that there was a most prodigious slaughter of their seamen.*

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* The Count D'Estrades, in his letter to the king, of the 17th of June, says, the Dutch took eleven large ships, and burned or sunk ten; that the white squadron was totally destroyed, Sir George Ayscue made prisoner, and his ship burned; that the vice-admiral, commanded by Berkeley governor of Portsmouth, of seventy guns, was brought into the Maese, with five others of the like force; that

The duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his rashness, and great contempt of the Dutch. It seems he was of the same sentiment with Blake, and thought that fighting was, almost on any terms, preferable to running away, in a nation who pretend to the dominion of the sea; and whoever shall consider the reputation we still retain from the glorious spirit of these intrepid men, will scarcely think it reasonable to hazard his own character by attacking theirs. It is enough that we live in cooler times, when men may be considered as heroes upon moderate terms: let us, therefore, content ourselves with justifying our own conduct, without censuring that of others, while, in the same breath, we confess that it is no easy thing to imitate it.

The Dutch had once more the credit of appearing at sea before the English, their ships having in these engagements suffered less. They first affected to brave us on our own coasts, and next to go in search of their French allies, who certainly never meant to afford them any real assistance. It was not long before the English appeared. The fleet consisted of eighty men of war, great and small, and nineteen fire-ships, divided into three squadrons: the red under Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, who were on board the same ship, Sir Joseph Jordan their vice, and Sir Robert Holmes their rear-admiral. Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white, and had under him Sir Thomas Tyddiman, and Rear-admiral Utburt. Sir Jeremiah Smith carried the blue flag, and his officers were Sir Edward Spragge and Rear-admiral Kempthorne. The Dutch, according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and

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three thousand men perished, and as many made prisoners. In his letter of July 1, he says, De Witte told the States, that the English had lost twenty-four ships, and nine or ten thousand men, and that eighteen ships were so disabled, that they would not be fit for service in a long time. See his letter also of the eighth of the same month.

twenty-fire ships divided also into three squadrons, under Admiral De Ruyter, John Evertz, (brother to the admiral who was killed in the former engagement), and Van Tromp.

On the 25th of June, about noon, the English came up with the enemy off the North Foreland. Sir Thomas Allen with the white squadron began the battle by attacking Evertz. Prince Rupert and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a desperate attack upon De Ruyter, whose squadron was in the centre of the Dutch fleet, and, after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ship. In this space the white squadron had entirely defeated their enemies, Admiral John Evertz, his vice-admiral, De Vries, and his rear-admiral, Koenders, being all killed, the vice-admiral of Zealand taken, and another ship of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke fought De Ruyter ship to ship, disabled the Guelderland of sixty-six guns, which was one of his seconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more; upon which the Dutch squadron began to fly. However, Vice-admiral Van Nes stood bravely by De Ruyter, and his ship received great damage: yet, being at last deserted by all but seven ships, they yielded to necessity, and followed the rest of their fleet as fast as they could.

Admiral De Ruyter's ship was so miserably torn, and his crew so dispirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little resistance, and nothing but the want of wind hindered the English from boarding him. As for Admiral Van Tromp, he was engaged with Sir Jeremiah Smith, and the blue squadron at a distance, and so could not assist his friends. As his was the strongest squadron of the Dutch fleet, and Smith's the weakest of the English, we had no great advantage on that side; yet some we had, his vice-admiral's ship being disabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery as long as there was any light.

Admiral De Ruyter continued his retreat that night, and the next day Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle pursued him, with part of the red squadron, as vigorously as the wind would permit. A fire-ship bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and missed very little of setting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when De Ruyter found himself so hard pressed, and his fleet in such imminent danger, that in a fit of despair he cried out, "My God, what a wretch am I! among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put me out of my pain?" By degrees, however, he drew near their own shallow coast, where the English could not follow him. Upon this occasion Prince Rupert insulted the Dutch admiral, by sending a little shallop called the Fanfan, with two small guns on board, which, being by force of oars brought near De Ruyter's vessel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at last a ball from the Dutch admiral so damaged this contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briskly, to save their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the wielings, the English went to lie at Schonevelt, the usual rendezvous of the Dutch fleets.

This was the clearest victory gained during the whole war: the Dutch were miserably beaten, and their two great admirals, De Ruyter and Tromp, had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating circumstances they could devise. In this battle the Dutch lost twenty ships; four admirals killed, and a great many captains: as to private men, there were probably about four thousand slain, and three thousand wounded. The English had only the Resolution burnt, three captains killed, and about three hundred private men.

Upon this occasion it appeared, of how little service it is to spread false rumours amongst the populace. The Dutch people had been assured, that the last battle had intirely ruined the naval strength of England, and that their fleet, when it sailed out, was gone to destroy the coasting trade, and to insult the sea-ports of our island. When, therefore, in the space of six weeks, they saw the reverse of this, their own countrymen flying, the English navy stationed on their shore, and their whole commerce at a stand, their fury is not to be expressed. They reproached their governors not only with want of courage and fortune, but also with being deficient in point of probity, and with endeavouring to impose on a nation they could not protect. Their rage, furious as it was, received no small increase from a new misfortune, heavier in itself, and more shameful in its nature, than any they had ever sustained; yet whether so honourable to the English as some have represented it, I will not take upon me to determine, but leave it to the decision of the candid reader, when he shall have read the best account of the matter I am able to give.*

On the 29th of July the English fleet weighed anchor, and steered their course for the Ulie; but the wind being contrary, they did not make the island till the 7th of August. Being then come to anchor, Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich magazines on the islands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; upon which it was resolved to attack them without delay.

Upon this, a council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the necessary dispositions for this great attempt. There it was resolved, that three hundred men should be drawn out of each squadron, two thirds land and one third seamen, under nine captains, and the whole to be executed under the direction of Sir Robert Holmes, rear admiral of the red, with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both islands at the same time, was to command one division. The ships appointed for this enterprise were five fourth, three fifth rates, five fire-ships, and seven ketches, as Sir Robert Holmes tells us in his relation of the affair.

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* The Dutch ministers, who in those times preached as if they had the rolls of destiny lying open before them, affirmed the fire of London, which happened the September following, to be a judgment from heaven for this action. Some of our own writers are very angry with it, and with Sir Robert Holmes for performing it: but this is quite absurd, since he acted in consequence of the resolution of a council of war, and is, therefore, commendable in this respect, whatever may be thought of his orders, or his conduct in other things.

On the 9th of August about seven in the morning, this squadron weighed, divided from the rest of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the Buoys, where they met the prince's pleasure-boat called the Fanfan, the crew of which had discovered in the harbour a considerable fleet of ships near the Ulie, which proved to be one hundred and seventy merchant ships, the least of which was not of less than two hundred tons burden, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed home near one hundred of those ships from the northward, some from the Streights, some from Guinea, some from Russia, some from the east countries: the rest were outward-bound ships, all of which likewise were very richly laden.

Sir Robert Holmes, considering that if he should proceed, as his design was, first to attempt a descent on the land, that numerous fleet might possibly pour in such numbers of men, as might render the success hazardous, resolved to begin with the ships; and accordingly, having ordered the Advice and the Hampshire to lie without the Buoys, he weighed with the rest of his fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he turned with difficulty into Schelling road, where the Tyger came to anchor, and, immediately, Sir Robert went on board the Fanfan, and hoisted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him, and there it was ordered, that the Pembroke which drew the least water, with the five fire-ships, should fall in amongst the enemy's fleet with what speed they could.

Captain Brown with his fire-ship chose very bravely to lay the biggest man of war on board, and burnt the vessel downright. Another fire-ship running up, at the same time, to the other man of war, the captain, backing his sails, escaped the present execution of the fire-ship, but so as to run the ship on ground, where it was presently taken by some of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ships clapped the three great merchantmen on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion, which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on board again, and presently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the advantage, and fall in, sink, burn, and destroy all they could, but with a strict command, that they should not plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share, some twelve, some fifteen merchantmen, that of the whole fleet, there escaped not above eight or nine ships, one of which was a Guineaman of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers: these ships, being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, served to protect four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where it was not possible for our boats to come at them, though even these few were much damaged.*

The next day, being the tenth, it was found more expedient to land on the island of Schelling than upon that of Ulie, which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats;

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* This account agrees very well with what is said on the same subject by the Dutch writers, who speak with horror of this action, the town being inhabited by Mennonites, a sort of Dutch Quakers, who hold the use of arms repugnant to the Christian principle, and are an honest, harmless, industrious kind of people.

and he debarked with little or no opposition. When he came on shore, he left one company to secure his boat, and with the other ten marched three miles farther up into the country to the capital town called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of one thousand very good houses, where, keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town to prevent any surprise from the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to the place: but finding them somewhat slow in executing that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in order to pillage, he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten his men away, which burnt with such violence, that, in half an hour's time, most part of the town was in a blaze. This place was reported, by those that were found in it, to have been very rich, and so it appeared by some of the soldiers pockets; but very few people were to be seen there, having had time to escape from the danger, except some old men and women, who were used by the English, after they fell into their hands, with all possible gentleness and humanity.

This blow, and that, too, in many respects, greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, suffered, by burning the town and magazines, the loss of near six millions of guilders; and, if we take the ships and their rich cargoes into this computation, they confess that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions, or 1,100,000*l.* sterling. We need not wonder that this wound cut very deep, and engaged the States to use their utmost diligence in fitting out a new fleet.

But, before we come to this expedition, it may not be amiss to introduce a passage, which hitherto has not found a place in our history. The destroying the Dutch ships, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Englishmen, was no English project. Captain Heemskerk, a Dutchman who fled hither for fear of his being called to an account for misbehaviour under Opdam, was the author of that dismal scene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boasting, in the hearing of King Charles II. of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country, that monarch, with a stern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never presume to appear again in his presence. He sent him, however, a very considerable sum of money for the service, with which he retired to Venice. This instance of magnanimity in that generous prince has been long and highly applauded by the Dutch; why should it be any longer unknown to the English?

As soon as the fleet was ready, the command was bestowed on Michael De Ruyter, Tromp having, at that time, in consequence of his dispute with De Ruyter, laid down his commission. This navy consisted of seventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-seven fire-ships. The first design they had was to join the French squadron, which Louis XIV. had promised to fit out for their assistance; in this they were most egregiously disappointed, and, after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once chased by a superior English fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at such usage which, it is said, wrought so powerfully on the mind of the gallant De Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of sickness.

When the French thought the coast was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his squadron, boarded the Ruby, a fine ship of a thousand tons and fifty-four guns, and carrying her in a short time, it so discouraged the French ministry, that they scarcely trusted their navy afterwards out of sight of their own shore. But, in the mean time, to convince the English that they were determined enemies, though they did not like fighting, they had recourse to a stratagem; or, to call the thing by its proper name, they set on foot a dirty conspiracy for seizing the island of Guernsey. In pursuit of this fine scheme, they sent a gentleman, who was governor of one of the fortresses upon their own coasts, to negociate with Major-general Lambert, an old republican, who was prisoner in the island. But the general, it seems, preferred any government to a French one, and therefore, having made a free discovery of these politicians, they were taken and hanged for spies. This is sufficient to shew, that both courts were enough in earnest; which, however, is a fact which some people then, and not a few historians now, pretend to doubt.

By the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of this war; which was certainly directly, and at the same time equally opposite to the welfare both of Britain and Holland, and may, therefore, be justly referred to the arts of France, and the very peculiar situation of the grand pensionary of Holland, M. De Witte; a man not more fortunate in his abilities, than unhappy in the application of them. A man who understood the interests of his country thoroughly, and, in his own nature, was, certainly, inclined to promote them; but having been engaged from his birth in the designs of a faction bent to ruin the authority, interest, and credit of the house of Orange, he came, on account of his royal highness's near relation to it, to have an inveteracy against the English court, which grew so much the more vehement, the less cause there was for it.*

He had plunged his country into this war chiefly to gratify his own humour, and to pin himself effectually on France; and now, when his countrymen were almost unanimously desirous of peace, the overtures for which were well received, and readily complied with in England, he contrived in his own mind such an extraordinary method of making war, as he thought would effectually raise the reputation of his family; and, at the same time, cut off the head of a very honest gentleman, who, at the request and by the consent of the States, had carried on a correspondence in England for facilitating a peace.

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* See his character in D'Estrade's Negociations, as well as in Basnage, and Le Clerc, who is his apologist at least, if not his panegyrist; yet he confesses, that this statesman had never travelled, and was little versed in the history, politics, or interests of other countries. He was a man inflexible, but not infallible.

The king of Sweden having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both sides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of London, and other national misfortunes, engaged King Charles to be very earnest as well as sincere in his desires of a peace. The Dutch, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to serve the purposes of their ministry, and many arts had been practised to keep them in it, though it was equally against their interests and their inclinations. Now, therefore, when France found pacific measures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on would serve only to raise the reputation of England, and to obscure their own, as well as ruin the Dutch; a treaty was set on foot at Breda, not only at the desire of the States, but by their express appointment both of time and place, in which they were indulged by King Charles, purely to shew the sincerity of his resolution. Whilst this treaty was thus negociating, De Witte was resolved to put in practice his base project; which, though executed with success, and esteemed glorious for a moment, yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country, and more especially so to himself and his brother, who, to shew how much it was their own, had the immediate conduct and execution of it.*

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* King Charles acquainted the Swedish ambassadors, that he would not treat with the States, unless they sent a proper person to London with propositions; made, at his request, a suitable provision for his nephew the Prince of Orange; and agreed to a proper regulation of the trade to the Indies; that he expected damages for the great losses suffered by the war; an acknowledg-

When the pensionary, John De Witte, was last on board the Dutch fleet, and, in the absence of the English navy, had cruized upon our coast, he took an opportunity of sending several persons to sound the mouth of the river Thames, in order to discover how far it might be practicable to make any attempt therein with large ships; and having by this means, found, with what facility the project he had formed might be executed, he resolved to proceed in it, notwithstanding the negociations for peace were then far advanced. He at first opened himself to the Count D'Estrades, the French ambassador, who communicated the design to his court, where it met with the utmost approbation, and where measures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution.

To this end it was necessary that King Charles should be persuaded that there was no necessity of fitting out a fleet for this year, since that would have rendered the design of the Dutch statesman not only difficult and dangerous, but absolutely impracticable*. With a view to this, the queen mother, whose advices were always fatal to this nation, was persuaded to write her son a letter, wherein she informed him, that his most Christian Majesty, and the States-general, had turned their thoughts entirely towards peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his Majesty, by fitting out a great fleet, should alarm

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ment for the herring fishing on his coasts, the nets being dragged on his shore; that he demanded no towns for caution, but insisted on the guaranty of the emperor and other princes.

* Count D'Estrades, who was the great confidante of the pensionary, and to whom the best Dutch writers allow he imparted many secrets of their state, very improper for any foreigner, and much more a French minister, to be acquainted with, tells the king his master plainly, that De Witte hated the peace; 1 Because it would make him less necessary, and so lessen his authority; 2. Because it would be favourable to the interests of the house of Orange; 3. Because he had (though with no ill intention) done many things contrary to the constitution, for which, in a time of peace, he might be very easily called to an account.

them on their own coasts, as in the preceding year. This advice, supported by the intrigues of the earl of St. Alban's, and agreeing with the king's temper and circumstances, whose ministers deceived, whose mistresses beggared, and whose courtiers plundered him, against whose measures a party was formed, many of whom, notwithstanding their vehement professions of patriotism, in reality meant little more than places and preferments, we need not wonder he fell so readily into it; for meanly covetous, and squandering needy princes, are alike liable to the greatest foible in governing; the preferring present gain to any future prospect whatever. Notwithstanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, King Charles, by a strange fatality, ordered only two small squadrons for the summer service, in 1667.

Things being thus in a readiness, the last resolution was taken in Holland for the immediate execution of pensionary De Witte's project: and this resolution was signed by the French minister, as well as by the deputies of the States. His most Christian Majesty had promised that a squadron of his ships, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, should assist therein. However, that the issue of the thing might irritate the English against the Dutch only, the French, as usual, waved the performance of their promise; when the matter, however, was so far advanced, that the Dutch found it impossible for them to go back. Yet the English ministers were treating all this time at Breda, where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance of speedily concluding a peace*.

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* In this the historians of both nations agree. One would wonder how, after duly considering this fact, any writer can assert (as Dutch historians do), that De Witte's expedition was necessary to the making of the peace. King Charles had yielded to a treaty at the request of the Dutch; he had left the manner of negociating it to them; he had disarmed his victorious fleet. What signs, be-

The pretence made use of by John De Witte, for fitting out a fleet in the spring was, the mischief which had been done to their navigation by the privateers from Scotland. In order to check these, Admiral Van Ghent was sent with a considerable fleet into the Frith, with orders to burn the coasts, and recover such ships as were in those ports. He appeared before Leith on the 1st of May, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of mischief; but he contented himself with cannonading Burnt-island to very little purpose. When the English court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year, and that this expedition was purely to quiet the minds of the people enough disturbed by their late losses. This shews the great folly of trusting an enemy, and ought to be a warning to all British statesmen for the future. If the king at this time had pawned the jewels of the crown, or the crown itself, as some of his predecessors did, to pay his seamen, and put a strong fleet to sea, he had turned the tables, made a good peace, and passed the remainder of his reign in quiet.

But Pensionary De Witte, in the mean time, had hastily manned out a large fleet, under the command of De Ruyter, on board which he intended to have gone in person; but the French protested against this step, and, therefore, he was, at last, content to send Cornelius De Witte, his brother. Care had been taken to provide some of the old republican officers to command the troops which were to make a descent; and these also easily procured pilots to conduct the Dutch into our rivers and ports. So wild a thing is faction, which, though always covered with fair pretences of love for the public, will yet lead such as are deluded thereby to the most flagitious actions, and such as

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yond these, could he shew of inclining to peace? but it was plainly calculated to frustrate the very ends of peace, by leaving a rancour in the minds of both nations; and this effect it had.

visibly tend to destroy, what, by their own principles, they should most vigorously defend.

The fleet being ready, sailed over to the English coast, where it was joined by Van Ghent, and consisted then of seventy men of war, besides fire-ships. On the seventh of June they attacked Sheerness, which was at that time unfinished, and in no state of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a considerable quantity of naval stores. Though the court had scarcely any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of Albemarle, Sir Edward Spragge, and other great officers, had made all imaginable provision for the defence of the river Medway, by sinking ships in the passage, throwing a chain across it, and placing three large vessels, which had been taken from the Dutch in this war, behind the chain. The Dutch had the advantage of a strong easterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ships at Chatham, in spite of all these precautions so well and wisely taken to preserve them. It was on the twelfth they executed this design; which at last, however, had miscarried, if one Captain Brakell, who was a prisoner on board their fleet for some misdemeanor, had not offered, to wipe out the memory of his former mistake, to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed.

He also with great bravery boarded and took one of the English frigates which guarded the passage, soon after the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, being the ships, which, as we before observed, had been taken from the Dutch, were set on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with six men of war and five fire-ships as high as Upmore-castle, but were so warmly received by Major Scott, who commanded therein, and Sir Edward Spragge, from the opposite shore gave them so much disturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return. However, as they came back, they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ship, and in her, Captain Douglas, whose behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory. He had received orders to defend his ship, which he did with the utmost resolution; but having no order to retire, he chose to be burnt with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deserted his command*. On the fourteenth they carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, notwithstanding all the English could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two Dutch men of war ran ashore in the Medway, and were burnt, which, with eight fire-ships consumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loss acknowledged by the Dutch writers; though it is not improbable that they really suffered much more.

De Ruyter, highly pleased with what he had performed, left Admiral Van Nes with part of his fleet in the mouth of the Thames, and sailed with the rest to Portsmouth, in very sanguine hopes of burning the ships there. Failing in this design, he sailed westward to Torbay, where he was likewise repulsed. Then he returned back again to the mouth of the Thames, and with twenty-five sail came as high as the Hope, where our squadron lay, under the command of Sir Edward Spragge. This consisted of eighteen sail; yet, the Admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we suffered at first from their fire-ships; but Sir Edward repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir Joseph Jordan with a few small ships, quickly forced the Dutch to retire. The like success attended their attack on Land-guard fort, which was performed by sixteen hundred men, commanded by Colonel Doleman, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but Governor Darrel, an old cavalier, beat them off with great loss. On the twenty-third, Van Nes sailed again up the river as far as the Hope, where he engaged Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five frigates, and seventeen fire-ships. This proved a very sharp action, at least between the fire-ships, of which the Dutch writers themselves confess they spent eleven to our eight.

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* "I could have been glad," says the ingenious Sir William Temple in his letter to Lord Lisle, in his works, vol. ii. "to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain Douglas's death, who stood and burnt in one of our ships at Chatham, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said a DOUGLAS quitted his post without order. Whether it be wise in men to do such actions or no, I am sure it is so in STATES to honour them."

The next day the English attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithstanding their superiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire-ship they had left to prevent her being taken. On the twenty-fifth they bore out of the river, with all the sail they could make, followed at a distance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining fire-ships. On the twenty-sixth, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another English squadron from Harwich, consisting of five men of war, and fourteen fire-ships. They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the Vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large ship; but were not able to fire them, though they frighted a hundred of their men into the sea. The rear-admiral of Zealand was forced on shore, and so much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home.

The Dutch fleets, notwithstanding these disappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impression could be made, as had been expected, on the English coasts, continued still hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually signed, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are pretty much at a loss to account for this conduct; but a Dutch historian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius De Witte ordered all our ports, on that side, to be sounded, and took incredible pains to be informed of the strength of our maritime forts, and the provision made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which shewed plainly, that though this was the first, it was not designed to be their last visit.

These were certainly very provoking circumstances; and he added to them at his return a strange act of indignity towards the king and the English nation, by representing himself in triumph, and them at his feet, in a pompous picture, which he caused to be hung up in a public edifice, to heighten the insult to the last degree. But before we speak of the peace, and of what followed thereupon in Holland, it will be requisite to give some account of such actions in the war as have not yet been mentioned*.

While the whole Dutch fleet was employed in alarming our coasts, Sir Jeremiah Smith was sent with a small squadron northwards; with which, and the assistance of a numerous fleet of privateers, already abroad for their own profit, the Dutch commerce to the Baltic was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into English ports. Thus it may be truly said, that the nations at this time changed characters. The Dutch preferred the insult at Chatham, which, all things considered, was of little or no consequence to them, to the preservation of their trade; and the English endeavoured to make themselves amends for this unexpected loss of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchantmen. Such are the effects which private passions produce in public affairs! The indolence and credulity of King Charles exposed his subjects and himself to this stain on their reputation, and the fury and self-interest of the De Witte faction, and betrayed, for the sake of furthering their own purposes, the trade of their country at present, and its future welfare, to extreme hazard. But let us return from men to things.

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* These acts of indignity and contempt were not only galling to the king, and such of his subjects as were truly loyal, but they were also such marks of rivetted hate, and implacable prejudice, as disposed that prince more than any thing to receive all impressions from France; and, therefore, how wrong soever his subsequent behaviour might be, politically considered, yet the Dutch had apparently themselves to blame.

The English, in the West Indies, took the island of St. Eustacie, Salia, St. Martin, Bonaira, the island of Tobago, and other places from the Dutch. On the contrary, the Dutch, under the conduct of Commodore Krynsen, made themselves masters of Surinam; and the French, assisted by the Dutch, almost deprived the English of their half of the island of St. Christopher's, after several obstinate disputes, and the death of their commander, Les Salles. Six frigates, and some other small vessels from Barbadoes, sailing from thence to repair this loss, were so ill treated by a violent storm, that they were put out of a condition to execute their design, and two or three of the most disabled ships fell into the hands of the enemy; though, before their misfortune, they had burnt two Dutch ships richly laden, in the harbour of Los Santos. Some authors say, that this little fleet was commanded by the Lord Willoughby, and that himself was lost in the hurricane. The English were more successful in the neighbourhood of Surinam, where they destroyed the Dutch colony, took a fort belonging to the French, and, afterwards, made themselves masters of many rich prizes, at the expence of that nation.

The Dutch admiral, Evertz, in conjunction with Commodore Krynsen, recovered the island of Tobago, and did a great deal of mischief upon the coast of Virginia. In March 1667, Sir John Harman was sent with a squadron of twelve men of war to redress these mischiefs. He performed all that he was sent for, and effectually cleared the seas both of French and Dutch rovers; yet he had not been long there before he found himself pushed by a superior force. The Dutch commodore, Krynsen, having embarked on board his squadron thirteen hundred land troops, sailed to Martinico, where he joined Monsieur de la

Barre, who commanded all the forces of the French king in those parts. Their fleet, after this junction, consisted of two and twenty sail of stout ships, with which they went to seek the English squadron upon the coast of St. Christopher's.

On the 10th of May, 1667, an engagement ensued, which lasted with great vigour, for above three hours, in which the English, notwishstanding the superior force of the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The Dutch historians say, that had it not been for the courage and conduct of the officers of their fleet, the French admiral had been taken; and, on the other hand, it is certain that those officers were so ill satisfied with the behaviour of the French, that they quitted them upon their return to St. Christopher's. The English admiral with his fleet came soon after thither, burnt the French admiral, and six or seven ships in the harbour, and either sunk himself, or obliged the French to sink, all the rest of the ships that were there, except two, and this with the loss only of eighty men.

In the first of these engagements, our writers have observed, that the admiral, Sir John Harman, was exceedingly ill of the gout, so as not to be able to stir. On the first firing, however, he started up, and went upon deck, gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable, and when it was over became as lame as he was before. By these victories he became master in those seas, and took from the Dutch their plantation at Surinam; but, however, it was restored by the treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that treaty for the conclusion of hostilities.

There were three distinct treaties of peace signed at Breda, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the English ministers, who were Lord Holles and Mr. Coventry; which were ratified on the twenty-fourth of August, 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were safe and honourable, at least, though not so glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after such a war. By it the honour of the flag was secured, and the island of Poleron, to prevent further disputes, was yielded to the Dutch. In the West Indies we kept all that we had taken, except Surinam, and the French were obliged to restore what they had taken in those parts from us.

Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the loss of Poleron, and, in consequence of that, the spice-trade, was not so much owing to this treaty as to the conduct of Cromwell, to whom it was yielded, when, after turning out his masters, he made peace with the Dutch. In obtaining it, he consulted his honour, and seemed to have the interest of the nation at heart. But, knowing of how great consequence it was to the Dutch, he consented that, paying him an annual pension, they should keep it, sacrificing manifestly thereby the public interest to his own. The island being thus out of our possession, and being of greater consequence than ever to the Dutch, they would not, at the time of this treaty, depart from their pretensions.

It is certain that the king made this peace much against his will, and without obtaining what he sought and expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto were chiefly these: First, disorders in his domestic affairs, which disquieted him with great reason. He found there was a strong spirit of disaffection among his subjects, which produced the late misfortune at Chatham; and, in case the war had continued, would have probably had still worse effects. And, secondly, the French king's design was become apparent; and his claim to the greatest part of the Spanish Netherlands openly avowed. If, therefore, the quarrel between Great Britain and Holland had subsisted any longer, the balance of power on the continent must have been immediately and irretrievably lost.* Such were the true grounds of the peace at Breda; and whoever considers the situation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

We succeeded better in our negociations this year in other parts. The worthy and wise earl of Sandwich, concluded, on the thirteenth of May, a treaty with Spain, whereby all old differences were settled, the friendship between the two crowns renewed and strengthened, and our commerce much extended. Soon after this, his lordship went to Lisbon, and there, by his mediation, a peace was made between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, by which the latter came to be owned by the former as an independent kingdom, and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might, if longer pursued, have been fatal to both. Towards the close of this year, his Majesty sent Sir William Temple into Holland, in order to enter into a stricter correspondence with the States, and to concert with them the means of preserving Flanders from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch in general, and even the pensionary De Witte himself, now saw plainly they had been dupes to France in this war.

This shews that his Majesty, for the present, laid aside his resentments for what had been done against him personally by the Dutch; and this for the sake of giving a check to the too great power of France.

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* What I assert above, the reader will find confirmed by two unexceptionable and irrefragable witnesses, whose knowledge cannot be doubted, or credit questioned. As to the disposition of the people to set up a republic again here, and the offers of Holland and France on that head, Ludlow is full in his Memoirs, vol. iii. As to the king's judgment on the state of affairs, Sir William Temple gives a candid and copious account in his letters, in which also he concurs with the king in his opinion.

In consequence of Sir William's negociation, was concluded the famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland; the most glorious step taken in this reign, and which, steadily pursued, would have crushed, at the beginning, that ambitious prince, Louis XIV. whose projects never ceased disturbing his neighbours, till after being humbled by the arms of Britain, in a succeeding reign, he came to know himself, and deplore them on his death-bed. But, to return to our more immediate business;

The Dutch war being over, his Majesty sent Sir Thomas Allen with a stout squadron into the Mediterranean, to repress the insults of the Algerines, who, taking advantage of our differences, had disturbed both the English commerce and the Dutch. The latter sent Admiral Van Ghent with a squadron to secure their trade; and he, having engaged six corsairs, forced them to fly to their own coasts, where, probably, they would have escaped, if Commodore Beach, with four English frigates, had not fallen upon them, and, after a close chace, obliged them to run a-ground. In this situation, they were attacked by the English and Dutch in their boats, and, being abandoned by their respective crews, were all taken, and a great number of Christian slaves of different nations released. The English commodore presented sixteen Dutch slaves to Admiral Van Ghent, and received from him twenty English by way of exchange; but the Algerine ships being leaky, were burnt. The same year some of our frigates attacked seven of the enemy's best ships near Cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice-admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-six guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggest ship in the squadron, carried sixty, and the least forty. Yet, after a sharp engagement, the vice-admiral was sunk, and the rest forced to retire, most of them miserably disabled. At the close of the year 1669, Captain Kempthorne (afterwards Sir John), in the Mary Rose, a small frigate, engaged seven

Algerine men of war, and, after a very warm action, forced them to sheer off, being in no condition to continue the fight any longer.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that, considering the Dutch, as well as we, were concerned in attacking these pirates, we have no better account of the war that was carried on against them, or of the force they then had, but what we are left to collect as we can, from the scattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only list I have seen, is of the state of their navy in 1668, and then it consisted of twenty-four ships, great and small, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewise six new ships of force upon the stocks. Yet this pitiful enemy continued to disturb, and even to distress, the commerce of both the maritime powers for several years.

At last, Sir Edward Spragge was sent in 1670, with a strong squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruized for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this, he sailed from thence with six frigates and three fire-ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those corsairs which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way, he lost the company of two of his fire-ships; yet, not discouraged by this accident, he persisted in his resolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines a-ground, and, notwithstanding the fire of the castle, burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which, he destroyed another of their ships of war near Teddeiler. These and other misfortunes caused such a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their Dey, and chose another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, on the ninth of December in the same year; and as they were now sufficiently humbled, and saw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England must end in their destruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times.

We are now come to the third Dutch war, more frequently called the second, because it was so in respect to this reign, and to account for the beginning of it will be no easy matter. It has been before shewn, that the last treaty of peace was made by King Charles against his will, and on terms to which force only made him consent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he still retained a dislike to the Dutch. Besides, there had been many other things done, sufficient to give distaste to any crowned head. For instance, their factory at Gambron in Persia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy, having first dressed up the image in an old second-hand suit, to express the distress in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, so the States-general looked upon themselves as above giving him any satisfaction.

They likewise suffered some medals to be struck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Among others, because the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were pleased to arrogate to themselves the sole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes. Here, however, it must be owned, that, in making war upon them at this juncture, King Charles acted too much under the direction of French counsels. He had about him the worst set of ministers that ever cursed this, or, perhaps, any other nation: men of different faiths, if bad statesmen have any, and who agreed only in promoting those arbitrary acts, which, while they seemed to make their master great, in reality ruined his, and, if they could have been supported, would have exalted their own power.

This infamous crew, for, however decked with titles by their master, no Englishman will transmit their names to posterity with honour, were then called the CABAL: and these engaged the king to listen to the propositions of his most Christian Majesty, who, as he had before deceived him to serve the Dutch, so he now offered to deceive the Dutch to gratify our king: and that Charles might not hesitate at this step, Louis betrayed his creature De Witte, and discovered a project he had sent him, of entering into an offensive alliance against England; which, with other articles for his private advantage, most unhappily determined our monarch to take a step prejudicial to the Protestant interest, repugnant to that of this nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in Europe.

By virtue of secret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total destruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to those of France, and the rest to fall to the share of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the Merlin yacht, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to pass through the Dutch fleet in the channel, and, on their not striking to his flag, was commanded to fire, which he did; yet, this not being thought enough, was blamed instead of being rewarded for it; and, for not sufficiently asserting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower. The pretence, however, thus secured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch asleep, as they had done us, when our ships were burnt at Chatham; and this, too, they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their schemes depended. Yet De Witte trusted to this, till, as the dupe of France, and the scourge of his own nation, he fell a sacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once resolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his reprisals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the Smyrna fleet.

This squadron of his Majesty's ships was commanded by Sir Robert, who hoisted his flag in the St. Michael, as admiral; the earl of Ossory in the Resolution, as vice-admiral; and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear-admiral, in the Cambridge. They cruized in the channel on purpose to execute this scheme, of which, however, the Dutch had some notice, and sent advice-boats to direct their fleet to steer northwards. But these instructions came too late; for they were already so far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and, therefore, in a council of war it was resolved to hold on their course. On the 13th of March, five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which consisted of about fifty sail of merchant-ships, and an escort of six men of war. When the English vessels came near them, they fired in order to make them strike, and lower their topsails, which they refused to do.

Upon this the fight began, which lasted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the Dutch fleet was, in a manner, ruined; five of their richest merchant-men were made prizes, their rear-admiral was boarded by Captain John Holmes, brother to the admiral, and taken, but soon after sunk, and the rest of the men of war were very rudely handled. The Dutch historians, however, set a good face upon the matter, and say, that their seamen behaved very bravely. This is true; but they suffered deeply for all that; and besides, this was the beginning of hostilities, and a necessary prelude to the war. So the States understood it, and immediately dispatched deputies hither, and to the French king, to sue for peace.

In this, as in the former dispute with the Dutch, such ships as had been detained in port, were dismissed on both sides, and, in the midst of a cruel war, the Dutch professed all imaginable esteem for the English nation; and, on the other hand, King Charles offered his royal protection to such as thought fit to quit their country in its present calamitous situation, and take shelter in his dominions.* The war was solemnly declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Westminster, and great pains were taken to impose upon the world a gross and groundless notion, that it was undertaken at the instance or at least with the concurrence of the people in general; whereas they knew their interest too well not to discern how little this measure agreed with it; and, therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain supplies, while the Dutch, in the midst of all their miseries, went on receiving sixty millions of their money, which is between five and six millions of ours, annually from their subjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money chearfully paid to preserve the commonwealth.

The French king, that he might seem to perform his treaty with the English better than that which in the former war he made with the Dutch, sent the Count D'Estrees, vice-admiral of France, with a large squadron, to join the English fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the third of May; and immediately afterwards the king went down to Portsmouth, and, to shew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the ship of the French admiral, where he remained some hours. Our fleet in a short time sailed to the Downs, the duke of York, as high-admiral, wearing the red, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Soon after the French squadron joined them, their admiral bearing the white flag; and then the fleet consisted of one hundred and one sail of men of war, besides fire-ships and tenders. Of these the English had sixty-five ships of war, and on board them four thousand ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty men. The French squadron consisted of thirty-six sail, on board of which were one thousand nine hundred twenty-six pieces of cannon, and about eleven thousand men. The Dutch, in the mean time, were at sea with a very considerable fleet, consisting of ninety-one stout men of war, fifty-four fire-ships, and twenty-three yachts. On the 9th of May they were seen off Dover, and the 13th of the same month a Dutch squadron chaced the Gloucester, and some other ships, under the cannon of Sheerness.

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* This was by an order of privy council, giving orders to the commissioners of prizes to release all Dutch ships, goods, and merchandises, seized in any of his Majesty's ports before the declaration of the war, or which voluntarily came in thither, together with all persons belonging to the same, and giving free leave to all Dutch merchants or others to depart the kingdom, if they think fit, without any encumbrance or molestation; dated Whitehall, May 15, 1672. See also his Majesty's gracious declaration for the encouraging the subjects of the united provinces of the Low Countries to transport themselves with their estates, and to settle in this his Majesty's kingdom of England. Given at Whitehall, the 12th of June, 1672.

The English fleet were at anchor in Solebay, on the twenty-eighth of May, when the Dutch fell in with them, and if they had not spent too much time in council, hâd certainly surprised them. As it was, many of the English captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement began between seven and eight in the morning, when De Ruyter attacked the red squadron in the centre, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highness the duke of York, for two hours, forcing his highness at last to remove to another ship. The Dutch captain, Van Brakell, attacked the earl of Sandwich in the Royal James: and while they were engaged, almost all the squadron of Van Ghent fell upon the earl's ships. His lordship behaved with amazing intrepidity, killed

Admiral Van Ghent himself, sunk three fire-ships and a man of war, that would have laid him on board; but then having lost all his officers, and two thirds of his men, his battered ship was grappled, and set on fire by a fourth fire-ship. Some of his men escaped; yet the earl continued on board till the flames surrounded him, where he perished; but left behind him an immortal name which will ever be revered by such as esteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a statesman, or the integrity of a patriot.

The death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the blue squadron, coming in, though too late, to the earl of Sandwich's assistance, threw this part of the Dutch fleet, which had been commanded by Van Ghent, into very great confusion, and forced them to stand off. This gave an opportunity for the blue squadron to join the red, and to assist the duke of York; who, deserted by the French, was in the utmost danger of being oppressed by the two squadrons of De Ruyter and Bankert. About this time Cornelius Evertz, vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed, and De Ruyter and Allemond narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships; but, when the English thought themselves secure of victory, the scattered squadron of Van Ghent came in to the assistance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day.

All this time the French, who composed the white squadron, instead of seconding the continued efforts of the English, kept as far out of danger as they could, and left our fleet to sustain the whole force of the enemy, at a disadvantage of three to two. But, notwithstanding this vast inequality of numbers, the fight continued with inexpressible obstinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared for the English. Five or six of the enemy's fire-ships were sunk by an English man of war, and Sir Joseph Jordan, of the blue squadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced the Dutch fleet, and thereby spread through it the utmost confusion; while a fire-ship clapped their Admiral De Ruyter on board, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he escaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, De Ruyter, collecting his fleet in the best order he could, fought retreating; and, as the most authentic of the Dutch historians say, quitted the place of fight, and steered northwards.

As the French king had, by this time, over-run a great part of their country, the States, by the advice of the grand pensionary De Witte, whose brother Cornelius* had been present in this fight, seated under a canopy, as if he had been a sovereign prince, assumed to themselves the honour of beating the English. However, they were so modest as to make no rejoicings for this supposed victory: and the distress their affairs were in might well excuse their departure on this occasion from truth. Their people were already disposed to destroy their governors, through madness, at the sight of the cruelties exercised by the French; and if to these there had been joined the news of a defeat at sea, one can scarcely conceive how the republic could have been preserved. As it was, the populace, instead of applauding, insulted Cornelius De Witte on his return, and framing to themselves an imaginary quarrel between him and De Ruyter, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed.

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* There was on this occasion (says the author of the History of the Dutch war) a fine chair of ivory placed on an estrade, covered with a most magnificent carpet, upon the deck of the ship, called the Seven United Provinces, in which sat Cornelius De Witte in a magistrate's robe, surrounded with an officer and twelve halberdiers in his own livery, with caps on their heads, decorated with green and blue ribbons. By this pompous appearance, he pretended to add to the grandeur of the sovereignty of the States he represented, to have an opportunity of observing the motions of the fleet, and the progress of the battle, to animate his men, and to render the dignity of plenipotentiary at sea, equal to that of general at land, both in splendour and authority.

The English, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be desired of a victory, but a very dear-bought victory. They carried off the Staveren, a large Dutch man of war; whereas the enemy took none of ours. They kept their post, while De Ruyter made the best of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great consequence; while De Ruyter himself, in his letter to the States, did not so much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. Cornelius De Witte, indeed, was of another opinion; but therein his interest dictated rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, our not following the Dutch to their own coasts; and, if we consider the strange and unbecoming behaviour of the French in the battle, this will appear no objection at all.

As to the loss, it was pretty equal on both sides. We had four men of war sunk or disabled, but they were small ships; whereas the Dutch lost three of the best in their fleet; one sunk, another burnt, and the third taken: a fourth, called the Great Holland, commanded by the brave Captain Brakell, was entirely disabled. As for the French, notwithstanding all their caution, they lost two men of war, and their rear-admiral, M. De la Rabiniere. Of persons of note, besides the earl of Sandwich, there were slain Captain Digby of the Henry, Captain Pearce of the St. George, Captain Waterworth of the Anne, Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the Cambridge, Sir John Fox of the Prince, and Captain Hannam of the Triumph. Of our volunteers, there fell the Lord Maidstone, Mr. Montague, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harboard, two of the duke of York's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Mr. Trevanian, and many others. Of private men, about two thousand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think fit to publish any list, though their loss without question was as great; since De

Ruyter says in his letter, " it was the hardest fought battle that he ever saw."

Most of our writers, even of naval history, pass over in silence the remaining service performed in this year, because it did not answer the mighty expectations of the ministry, by whom the most sanguine schemes were contrived. But, as truth ought on all occasions to be preferred to every thing, so I think myself obliged to report fairly the extravagant designs in which we embarked, and the means by which we were disappointed, not more perhaps to our neighbours' advantage than our own: for in such wars as are made by princes, through caprice, resentment, or ambition, against the interest of their people, it often happens, that a disappointment of the former proves a kind of victory to the latter.

On the return of the Dutch fleet to their own coasts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain so for want of gunpowder, all that was on board being sent to the army. The States perceiving their authority almost lost, and their country on the very brink of ruin, resolved once more to try the force of entreaties; with which view they sent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king. The business of the former was, to shew the danger of the Protestant religion, the apparent and near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe, and the dismal consequences which must follow, even to England, from the further prosecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any satisfaction to his most Christian Majesty, that he should require.

The arrival of the deputies in England had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the cabal, treated them with a haughtiness as little agreeable to his natural temper as inconsistent with his dignity. Instead of hearing and giving them an answer in person, as he was accustomed on such applications, he was pleased to send four of the cabal to confer with them, in order to know what proposals they had to make; and, afterwards, sent over with them the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and the Viscount Halifax, into Holland, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true design was, to be rid of the deputies, the sight of whom drew the compassion of the nation, who considered the Dutch no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a Protestant people sacrificed to a French and Popish interest.*

On the arrival of these lords in Holland, they made most extravagant demands; such as ten millions of guilders for the expense of the war, an annual tribute of one hundred thousand for the liberty of fishing, the perpetual stadtholdership for the prince of Orange, and his issue male. All these were moderate articles to the rest; for they insisted on a share in their East India trade, the possession of the city of Sluys in Flanders, and the islands of Cadzant, Walcheren, Goeree and Voorn. After the proposal of these intolerable conditions, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, deserting their colleague, went away to the French camp, and there concluded an agreement in the name of their own prince, without his instructions, with the French king, the principal point of which was, that neither should, upon any terms, make a separate peace with the Dutch.†

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* I have entered farther into this matter than I should otherwise have done, for two reasons. First, this was the grand expedition, and, had it taken effect, would have put an end to the war, and a period to the republic of Holland. Lewis XIV. was in Utrecht, the bishop of Munster before Groningen, and, had the English landed, the Zealanders were inclined to submit. Secondly, this was apparently the favourite scheme of the CABAL. Shaftsbury at home preached up openly the destruction of Holland. Buckingham and Arlington were abroad, intent on putting his doctrine in practice. This attempt, therefore, was critical, and its miscarriage saved Holland certainly, Britain consequentially, and very probably all Europe!

† This whole affair is very fairly stated in the Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 315—318, where, from Secretary Coven-

As for the deputies sent to his most Christian Majesty, they were answered in the style of a conqueror, and so sent back to spread despair through the country, which they did so effectually, that the inhabitants drew from thence for their safety; for, seeing no hopes of living any better than in slavery, they generously resolved to lay aside all treaties, and to die free.

In the mean time, the French and English fleets being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land forces, sailed again for the Dutch coasts, with a design to make a descent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but, not thinking proper to attack them among the sands, they deferred the execution of their design, and blocked up the Maese and Texel; which De Ruyter, having strict orders from the States not to hazard a battle, saw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was resolved to debark, on the isle of Texel, the body of troops on board his fleet. The occasion was favourable in all respects; the French and the bishop of Munster were in the heart of the Dutch territories, so that no great force could be drawn together to resist them on shore; and the coast was so low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a superior force could have secured the Dutch from this invasion.

It was upon the 3d of July this resolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces should have landed the next flood. But Providence interposed in favour of a free people, and saved them from a yoke which seemed already to press upon their necks. The ebb, instead of six, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended descent for that

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try's remarks, it looks as if these lords acted in their negociation with the French king, rather as deputies from the cabal, than as ambassadors from Charles II. and, from what followed, one would imagine the king too, saw their conduct in this light.

time, and the storm, that rose the night following, forced the fleet out to sea, where they struggled for some time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite lost, returned, without performing any thing of consequence, to the English shore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and, though some of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of superstition, yet I must own, I think their excess of piety, in this respect, very pardonable; especially if we consider, there could not be a higher stroke of policy, at that time, than to persuade a nation, struggling against superior enemies, that they were particularly favoured by Heaven.*

After this disappointment, there was no other action thought of at sea for this year, except the sending Sir Edward Spragge, with a squadron, to disturb the Dutch herring fishery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became so great a man, contenting himself with taking one of their vessels, when he saw that was sufficient to disperse the rest. But while the war seemed to slumber in Europe, it raged sufficiently in the West and East Indies.

Sir Tobias Bridges, with five or six ships, and a regiment of foot, from Barbadoes, made himself master of the island of Tobago, taking about four hundred prisoners, and five hundred slaves.† On the other side, the Dutch, with five or six hundred men, possessed themselves of the island of St. Helena, lying off the coast of Africa; for the fort not being defensible on the land side, the English governor and his people, after having several times repulsed the enemy, retired with all their valuable effects on board some English and French ships, as finding it impossible to preserve the island after their landing. But Commodore Monday, being sent with four men of war, to convoy the English East India fleet, perceiving on his arrival at St. Helena what had happened, resolved to attempt retaking it; he was the rather induced to this resolution, from his want of fresh water. Accordingly, landing some men on that side of the island which is most accessible, and at the same time attacking the fort with his ships, he easily succeeded in his design.

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* See Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tome ii. p. 264, where this extraordinary accident is justly stated, and fairly accounted for. The wonder did not consist so much in an ebb of twelve hours, as in the time in which it happened; for, though the like has fallen out before and since about the equinoxes, yet in July it never happened but at this juncture, when the swelling of the waters in the Y and the Zuyder-zee repelled the flood. Lord Arlington in his letters of August 29, and September 26, 1672, mentions the bad weather, but takes no notice of the ebbing of the water.

† This island, which belonged of right to the crown of England, was, however, seized and settled (during our troubles) by the Dutch, who bestowed upon it the name of New Walcheren, and rendered it a populous, prosperous, and profitable, plantation.

The island being thus recovered, it served the English as a net to enclose and take the enemy's ships, for a Dutch East India vessel, called the Europe, coming to St. Helena, with a new governor on board, was seized. And soon after six others appearing in sight of the island, the English commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were still in possession, caused the Dutch flag to be displayed from the fort; which stratagem had so good an effect, that the East India ships approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken, with an immense quantity of silver on board; as the rest would likewise have been, had not the English discovered themselves too soon. On the other side, the Hollanders, who attempted the island of Bombay, were repulsed with great loss: but near Massalpatnam, thirteen Dutch men of war, and some other vessels, being rashly engaged by ten English ships, partly men of war, and partly merchantmen, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the Dutch Vice-admiral John Frederickson, and the taking of three English merchant ships. So that the loss of the two nations was pretty equal, though possibly the Dutch esteemed themselves gainers.

All this time commerce in general suffered exceedingly on both sides: noble plantations were ruined; and the French, who before this war had very little skill in navigation, and scarcely at all understood the art of fighting at sea, as their own writers confess, improved wonderfully in both, at the joint expense of Britain and Holland. Thus their self interested political end was plainly answered, while the maritime powers were fighting with, and weakening each other, and this, too, as much against their inclinations as their interests, which it is necessary for us to shew.

As the rancour which the Dutch had discovered against the English, and their most unjustifiable behaviour in respect to the insults offered to the king's person, were not so much owing to their own prejudices as to the arts of the De Wittes; and as they plainly saw, that this war and all its miseries came upon them through the vanity of their governors, and from the resentment which King Charles still had for the action at Chatham, contrived by John, and executed by Cornelius De Witte; so they turned their rage upon these two brothers, and the rest of their faction; obliged the States to repeal the perpetual edict, which followed the conclusion of the last war, and took away the office of stadtholder for ever; advanced the prince of Orange to that high dignity, and soon after, in a fit of popular fury, barbarously murdered the De Wittes; as if the blood of these men could have restored that peace, which, in truth, but for their schemes had never been lost. In order to be convinced of this, the reader need only consult the secret resolutions of the States-general, during his ministry, which are published: his letters, and his maxims, all which clearly prove his jealousy of, and aversion from, this nation. The truth is, like too many great ministers, he deceived himself into an opinion, that what was requisite to support his administration, was essentially necessary to the security of his country. Upon this rock he split, ruined himself, and brought the republic to the brink of destruction.

Nay, to shew how thoroughly they were cured of those fatal prepossessions, which had brought upon them the naval force of so potent a neighbour, the people, on the first arrival of the English ambassadors, thronged about them, and cried out, " God bless the king of England! God bless the prince of Orange! and the devil take the States." They hoped, and with great reason, that these testimonies of their sincere desire of peace, the ruin of the Louvestein faction, and the advancement of his nephew, the prince of Orange, would have pacified our king; and they were infinitely concerned when they found themselves mistaken. They did not, however, as before, vent their spleen in violent acts of personal malice, or disrespect towards the king; but contented themselves with carrying on the war with courage and resolution, and, at the same time, omitted no opportunity of signifying their earnest desire of peace.

In England, the credit of the cabal, which had been long lost with the people, began now to decline also with the king; and the parliament, though very loyal, yet in granting a large supply to the king, would not own the Dutch war; but borrowed an expression from the king's speech, and declared what they gave to be for the king's EXTRAORDINARY OCCASIONS. They likewise fell warmly upon matters of religion, and passed an act, since sufficiently famous under the title of the TEST; which putting it out of the power of the Papists to continue in any public employments, Lord Clifford was soon after obliged to quit the treasury, and the duke of York immediately declined the command of the fleet.

These were changes, which had a natural tendency to bring things about again into their proper spheres; yet the Dutch war was carried on for another year through the influence of their councils who began it, and, which must appear extremely singular to any man who is a stranger to the arts practised in courts, the very people who promoted the war, secretly practised the defeat of those measures by which alone it could be pursued with honour. For this I know of no reasons that have been assigned, and therefore I venture to speak my own opinion, that it proceeded from a desire in the ministry to gain a pretence for making a peace, from some want of success in the war, when it was to be carried on under the command of Prince Rupert, who, though he was too wise to be fond of this service, was yet too honest and too brave a man to neglect his duty.

Notwithstanding it was resolved, early in the year 1673, that Prince Rupert should command, yet no care was taken to fit out the fleet in time, and much less to shew any degree of confidence, or even complaisance, in furnishing him with such officers as were agreeable to him. Sir Robert Holmes was laid aside, though formerly so much caressed, merely because he was known to be in his highness's favour, and Sir Edward Spragge sent in his stead, who not long after went into France on a secret commission, without Prince Rupert's knowing any thing of his business. With the like view, Sir John Harman was appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have survived the great abilities he once had, and besides was so ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or so much as to stir out of his cabin. The prince expostulated in vain against these and many other hardships, of which he could obtain no redress; and therefore in the beginning of the month of April, hearing that the Dutch fleet was at sea, and intended to come and sink many hulks filled with lead and stones in the mouth of the river, he with much industry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ships as he could, and with some fire-ships, sailed out and took such measures as prevented them. This was one of the schemes laid in the former war, and, if the Dutch could have accomplished it, would probably have been attended with very mischievous effects.

About the middle of May, the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the sea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the French, who were at Brest, and who freely declared, that they were resolved not to stir till our fleet was in the channel. As the Dutch laboured day and night to strengthen their navy, his highness saw the necessity of joining the French early, and as a proof of his high courage as well as great skill in maritime affairs, he passed in defiance of the enemy, then riding at the Gun-fleet, through the passage called the Narrow, and this, too, against the wind: which so surprised the Dutch, that, seeing the end of their lying there lost, they sailed back again to their own ports.

The grand design of our court was the same this year that it had been the last, that is to say, to make a puissant descent on the Dutch coast: and, with this view, there was a considerable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His Majesty and his royal highness the duke of York visited the fleet on the 19th of May, and, in a council of war held in their presence, it was peremptorily resolved to attack the enemy even upon their own coast, in case they could not be provoked to quit it. In pursuance of this determination, Prince Rupert stood over towards the coast of Holland, and found De Ruyter with the Dutch fleet, riding within the sands at Schonevelt, in a line between the Rand and the Stony-bank, which was a very advantageous situation; but, notwithstanding that, his highness persisted in his resolution of obeying the positive orders he had received for attacking them.

On the 28th in the morning, about nine o'clock, a detached squadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ships were sent to draw the enemy out, which was very easily done; for De Ruyter presently advanced in good order, and, the English light ships retreating, put their own fleet in some disorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms; the confederate fleet consisted of eighty-four men of war, besides fire-ships, divided into three squadrons, under the command of Prince Rupert, Count D'Estrees, and Sir Edward Spragge. The Dutch were scarcely seventy men of war and frigates, under De Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert.

Most of our own and the Dutch historians agree, that the English, to prevent the French from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ships in this battle with their own: but, in the account published under the direction of Prince Rupert, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is said, that the French made little or no sail, but kept in the rear, though they saw the Dutch fleet stretch to the north. By twelve in the morning the detached squadron, before mentioned, engaged Van Tromp, and soon after the prince engaged De Ruyter almost two hours before the French began to fight at all. Then, says the same relation, Count D' Estrees engaged De Ruyter, but quickly left him; neither did De Ruyter follow, but went to the assistance of Tromp, whom he very seasonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds which had been long subsisting between them.

The battle was very hard fought on both sides, insomuch that Tromp shifted his flag four times; from the Golden Lion, to the Prince on Horseback; from the Prince on Horseback, to the Amsterdam; and from the Amsterdam, to the Comet; from on board which he dated his letter to the States in the evening. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory distinguished themselves on our side by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince Rupert also performed wonders, considering that his ship was in a very bad condition, and took in so much water at her ports, that she could not fire the guns of her lower tier. The battle lasted till night, and then the Dutch are said to have retired behind their sands.

Both sides, however, claimed the victory: De Ruyter, in his letter to the prince of Orange, says, "We judge, absolutely, that the victory is on the side of this state and of your highness." Tromp carried the matter farther, and reported the English to have lost ten or twelve ships. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, says, "I thought it best to cease the pursuit, and anchor where I now am." As to the slain on both sides in this battle, it is reported that the Dutch lost Vice-admiral Schram, Rear-admiral Vlugh, and six of their captains, and had one ship disabled, which was lost in her retreat. On our side fell the Captains Fowls, Finch, Tempest, and Worden: Colonel Hamilton had his legs shot off, and we had only two ships disabled, none either sunk or taken.

The great doubt is as to the conduct of the French. Our writers are positive, that they behaved to the full as ill as they did before; but the Dutch authors say they fought very bravely. The truth seems to be, that the briskest of the French officers made it their choice to fight among the English, where they behaved very gallantly, while those remaining with the Count D'Estrees took a great deal of care to keep themselves and their ships safe: and yet they suffered more than either the English or Dutch; for they lost two men of war, and five or six fire-ships, which they knew not how to manage. The French writers are pretty even with us; for they report that matters were but indifferently managed on both sides, and that Prince Rupert did not push things as far as he might, because he was averse from the war. In one respect, the Dutch certainly had the advantage, since they prevented the descent intended upon their country, for which service, in case of a clear victory, Count Schomberg, with six thousand men, lay ready at Yarmouth.

The Dutch, as they were upon their own coast, had the advantage of receiving quick and great supplies; whereas the wind prevented the English from obtaining the like advantages. Prince Rupert, however, did all that in his power lay, to put the fleet into a good condition, and, believing that the Dutch would not be long before they endeavoured to make use of their advantages, he went on board the Royal Sovereign in the evening of the third of June, where he went not to bed all night. His foresight was very requisite; for, on the fourth in the morning, the Dutch fleet, by this time at least as strong as the confederates, bore down upon them as fast as the wind would permit. Sir Edward Spragge had so little notion of their fighting, that taking the brave earl of Ossory, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which lost a great deal of time.

As for Prince Rupert, he was so much in earnest, that, finding his ship's crew, which was but indifferent, raised his anchors very slowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haste to meet the Dutch.

Count D'Estrees, with the white squadron, betrayed no such great willingness to fight, as both our own and the Dutch writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At last, about five in the evening, Spragge and Tromp engaged with great fury. As for De Ruyter, he shewed at first a design of coming to a close engagement with the prince: but before he came within musket-shot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had suffered some considerable damage. Spragge, in the mean time, had forced Tromp to sheer off. He then fell into Vice-admiral Sweers's division, which he soon put to confusion; and had a third engagement with Tromp, wherein he shot down his flag. The battle lasted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the Dutch stood to the south-east, and so it ended.

Both sides claimed the victory as before. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, says expressly, "that he pursued the Dutch from two till six the next morning, and seeing no likelihood of reaching them before they got within their sands, thought a farther pursuit needless." He, likewise, adds, "that they went away in great disorder, though he could not tell certainly what loss they had received" This is not altogether irreconcileable to De Ruyter's letter, wherein he also claims the victory. "The next day," says he, "we saw the enemies were gone; and doubt not but they made to the Thames; we satisfied ourselves with pursuing them half-way, and then returned to our former station." In the same letter, however, he owns that they began their retreat as soon as it was dark. The loss on both sides was pretty equal, but was very far from being considerable on either. Admiral Van Tromp was so ill satisfied with the conduct of Vice-admiral Sweers, that he accused him to the States. Some of the Dutch and French writers pretend, that Prince Rupert did not distinguish himself on that occasion as he used to do; for which they suggest reasons void of all foundation.

The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war to sail for the English coast, in order to obtain supplies, as well of ammunition as provision: through want of which, a great many captains complained loudly. Besides, the fleet was so poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and these being for the most part, newly-raised men, we need not wonder they did not behave so well as our old-seasoned sailors were wont to do. On the eighth of June, the fleet arrived at the Buoy in the Nore, and, on the fourteenth, Prince Rupert went to London, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to press for such necessary supplies as might enable him to put to sea again without delay.

The Dutch, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences that they made after the two last battles to victory, and (which was of much greater consequence) to raise the spirits of the people at such a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at stake, gave out, that their fleet should speedily put to sea again, and attempt some great thing. Insulting the English coast was sometimes mentioned, and then again, the losses they had lately sustained from the French, induced them to think of revenge on that side, and taking some maritime town in France, which might oblige King Louis to abandon the siege of Maestricht, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange. But while they were amusing themselves and De Ruyter with these proposals, they were informed that Maestricht was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewise ready to put to sea; so that all these grand schemes vanished at once, and they were forced to attend to their old business of defending their own coasts, and protecting their commerce.

About the middle of the month of July, Prince Rupert was at sea, having on board the troops intended for a descent, which was still pressed by the real authors of the war. His highness arrived on the Dutch coasts on the twenty-first of the said month, and declining an engagement, stood along the shore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops On the ninth of August, he took a Dutch East India ship richly laden. This induced De Ruyter to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the English fleet. As soon as his highness perceived it, he commanded the French to take a particular course, and had thereby an opportunity of discerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay by twice that night; first about eleven o'clock, when the prince sent to Count D'Estrees to order him to make sail, which he did till about one o'clock, and then laid his sail to the mast again, which gave a second stop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to send him another message. In those days, when party-spirit ran very high, nobody ever suspected the Count D'Estrees's courage, which was so well known, and so thoroughly established, as clearly to decypher his orders.

These delays gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but, early on the eleventh of August, bore down upon the confederates, as if he meant to force them to a battle; upon which, his highness thought fit to tack, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the French in the van, himself in the centre, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this disposition the French lay fair to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected. The English fleet consisted of about sixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of seventy or thereabouts; so that the royal fleets were indisputably superior to that of the republic.

De Ruyter, bearing down with his fleet in three squadrons, prepared to attack the prince himself, while Tromp engaged Spragge and the blue squadron, in which the English admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-sail to his mast, in order to stay for him, contrary to the express order of the prince. This fondness for a point of honour proved fatal to himself, as well as disadvantageous to the fleet. Bankert, with his Zealand squadron, should have engaged the white, commanded by D'Estrees; but, it seems the Dutch understood their temper better than to give themselves much trouble about them, for Bankert contented himself with sending eight men of war and three fire-ships to attack the rear-admiral De Martel, who seemed to be the only man that had any real design to fight; and then the rest of the Zealand squadron united themselves to De Ruyter, and fell together upon Prince Rupert.

Rear-admiral De Martel, being left not only by the body of the French fleet, but even by the captains of his own division, was attacked by five Dutch ships at once. He fought them for two hours, and that with such courage and success, that having disabled one, the rest were glad to sheer off, and he rejoined the white squadron, where, expostulating with the captains of his own division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral not to observe his motions: and, indeed, after he was in the fleet, though some opportunities offered, he thought no more of fighting, and, on his return to France, was sent to the Bastile for what he had done.

The battle between De Ruyter and the red squadron began about eight o'clock in the morning, and a multitude of circumstances concurred to threaten the English admiral with inevitable ruin. The French, not satisfied with being mere spectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, suffered the ships, which had attacked De Martel, to pass quietly to their own fleet; so that now De Ruyter's and Bankert's squadrons were both upon the red. Sir Edward Spragge, intent on his personal quarrel with Van Tromp, had fallen to the leeward several leagues with the blue squadron, and to complete Prince Rupert's misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, Sir John Chichele, with his division; so that, by noon, his highness was wholly surrounded by the Dutch, being pressed by De Ruyter and his division on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the Zealand squadron on his broadside to windward. Thus the Dutch wisely employed their force against the enemy that would fight, and took no more notice of the French fleet, than the French did of them, or of Prince Rupert.*

His highness, in the midst of these disappointments, behaved with such intrepidity, and encouraged all his officers so effectually by his own example, that, by degrees, he cleared himself of his enemies, rejoined Sir John Chichele, and, by two o'clock, had time to think of the blue squadron, which was now at three leagues distance; and, not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the sail he could towards them, in order to unite with and relieve them. De Ruyter, perceiving his highness's design, left firing, and bore away also with his whole force to the assistance of Tromp; so that both fleets ran down side by side, within range of cannon-shot, and yet without firing on either part. About four, the prince joined the blue squadron, which he found in a very tattered condition.

At the beginning of the fight, Tromp in the Golden Lion, and Sir Edward Spragge in the Royal Prince, fought ship to ship. The Dutch admiral, however, would not come to a close fight, which gave him a great advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his complement on board, suffered much by the enemy's cannon, and, having the wind and smoke in his face, could not make so good use of his own, as he would otherwise have done. After three hours warm fight, the Royal Prince was so disabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board the St. George, and Tromp quitted his Golden Lion to hoist his flag on board the Comet, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. We have in respect to this, and it is to be wished we had of every battle, a distinct relation of what was performed by each squadron, and, from the relation of the blue squadron, compared with Prince Rupert's account, the following facts are collected.

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* See "The Exact Relation," &c. In this piece we have not only the most authentic, but, I believe, the only authentic account of this engagement, now extant. Prince Rupert's letters were usually published, but what he wrote on this occasion, was not judged convenient for the people's perusal. The Dutch narrations were calculated to serve a turn, and that penned by M. De Martel for the information of the French king, was for many good reasons suppressed.

The great aim of the Dutch admiral was, to take or sink the Royal Prince: but the earl of Ossory, and Sir John Kempthorne, together with Spragge himself, so effectually protected the disabled vessel, that none of the enemy's fire-ships could come near her, though this was often attempted. At last, the St. George being terribly torn, and, in a manner, disabled, Sir Edward Spragge designed to go on board a third ship, the Royal Charles; but, before he was got ten boats length, a shot, which passed through the St. George, took his boat; and, though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from the St. George, the boat sunk, and Sir Edward was drowned.

When Prince Rupert drew near the blue squadron, he found the admiral disabled, the vice-admiral lying to the windward, mending his sails and rigging; the rear-admiral a-stern of the Royal Prince, between her and the enemy, bending his new sails, and mending his rigging. The first thing his highness did, was to send two frigates to take the Royal Prince in tow. He then steered in between the enemy and the lame ships, and, perceiving that Tromp had tacked, and was coming down again upon the blue squadron, he made a signal for all the ships of that squadron to join him: but it was in vain; for, except the two flags, Sir John Kempthorne and the earl of Ossory, there was not one in a condition to move. The French still continued to look on with all the coolness imaginable; and, notwithstanding the prince put out the blue flag upon the mizen peek, which was the signal to attack, set down in the general instructions for fighting, and known not only to all the English captains, but also to those of the white squadron, yet they remained, as before, wholly inactive. But, to give some kind of colour to this conduct, the Count D'Estrees, after the battle was in a manner over, sent to know what this signal meant.*

About five in the evening, De Ruyter, with all his flags and fleet, came close up with the prince, and then began a very sharp engagement. His highness had none to second him but the vice and rear of the blue, Sir John Harman, Captain Davis, and Captain Stout, of his own division, Sir John Holmes in the Rupert, Captain Legge in the Royal Katharine, Sir John Berry in the Resolution, Sir John Ernle in the Henry, Sir Roger Strickland in the Mary, and Captain Carter in the Crown; in all about thirteen ships. The engagement was very close and bloody till about seven o'clock, when his Highness forced the Dutch fleet into great disorder, and sent in two fire-ships amongst them to increase it, at the same time making a signal for the French to bear down; which, even then, if they had done, a total defeat must have followed: but, as they took no notice of it, and the prince saw that most of his ships were not in any condition to keep the sea long, he wisely provided for their safety, by making with an easy sail towards our own coasts.

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* "The Exact Relation," &c. p. 18, 19. where it is affirmed, that Count D'Estrees sent this message after night had parted the fleets. The officer who wrote that account, says, very judiciously, that the sending to inquire the meaning of the signal was cunningly done: but one of De Ruyter's sailors seems to have had as much penetration as the French ministry had artifice; for, upon one of his companions asking him what the French meant by keeping at such a distance, "Why, you fool," said he, "they have hired the English to fight for them; and all their business here is, to see that they earn their wages."

This battle ended as doubtfully as any of the rest; for the Dutch very loudly claimed the victory now, as they did bfore, and with full as much reason. The truth is, it seems to have been a drawn battle, since the Dutch, notwithstanding all their advantages, did not take or sink a single English man of war, and killed but two captains, Sir William Reeves and Captain Havard, besides our gallant admiral, Sir Edward Spragge, and no great number of private men. On their side they lost two vice-admirals, Sweers and Liefde, three captains, and about one thousand private men. The consequences, indeed, which, from the prudence of the admiral, they drew from this battle, were exceedingly great; for they opened their ports, which before were intirely blocked up, and put an end to all thoughts, by removing the possibility, of an invasion.

It would be equally unsatisfactory and unjust to conclude this account of the last battle fought in this last Dutch war, without taking particular notice of the grounds upon which I have represented the conduct of the French in so bad a light. I must in the first place declare, that I have no intent to asperse the nation in general, much less to injure the particular character of the noble person who commanded, and who afterwards gave signal proofs of his true courage, and able conduct, as a sea-officer, as in this engagement he gave, undoubtedly, the highest demonstration of his steadiness in obeying orders. Those I blame are such as drew up his instructions, and consequently were alone answerable for his behaviour. The French were and are a brave nation; but it has been their great misfortune to suffer by perfidious ministers, who have broke their national faith, both in war and peace, so often, that it is in a manner become proverbial, like the *fides Punica* of old. For the truth of what I have advanced in the present case, I have the testimony of friends and enemies, nay of themselves too, which I think is sufficient to put the matter out of doubt. The conduct of Louis XIV. is thus represented by honest Andrew Marvel. He first practised the same art at sea, when he was in league with the Hollanders against us, his navy having never done them any service; for his business was only to see us batter each other. Now he was on the English side, his business was to sound our seas, to spy our ports, to learn our building, to contemplate our manner of fighting, to consume ours, to preserve his own navy, to encrease his commerce, and to order all things so, that the two great naval powers of Europe being crushed together, he might remain arbitrator of the ocean.

This behaviour was complained of by Prince Rupert in such strong terms, that his letter was suppressed, though at other times his accounts, which were constantly very plain and very modest, were instantly published. All the Dutch writers agree in giving the same account; and, indeed, if they did not, the conduct of their admirals might sufficiently justify this to have been their sense of the thing, since it is impossible to conceive, that Admiral Bankert would have sent eight small ships to attack a squadron of thirty large ones, if from their former conduct, and their countenance then, he had not been well assured that fighting was not much their business.

Lastly, poor Admiral De Martel, who was too much a man of honour to be in the French ministers' secrets, wrote a fair relation of the battle, and sent it to the French court, concluding with these words: "That if Count D'Estrees would have fallen in with a fair wind upon De Ruyter and Bankert, at their first engaging, when in numbers they much exceeded the prince; they must of necessity have been inclosed between his Highness and D'Estrees, and so the enemy would have been entirely defeated."

Soon after this battle, the English fleet came into the Thames, and the French squadron, about the middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that it was the middle of November before they reached Brest. When Prince Rupert returned to court, he joined his representations to those of other worthy patriots, who were desirous that peace, as soon as possible, should be restored, from which the king was, at this time, no longer averse. There had, through the mediation of Sweden, been some conferences held at Cologne; but they had not proved so effectual as was expected: the States-general also had written to his Majesty, but in terms that, instead of making things better, had rather widened the breach. After this battle, however, they condescended to write another letter, wherein they shewed their earnest desire of peace, and their true sense of the obstacles which had hitherto retarded it.

In this letter they spoke very freely to the king of his ministers and of his ally; they shewed him how glorious as well as how advantageous a step a separate peace must prove, which would give umbrage only to the French, and content to all the other great powers of Europe: and further to incline his Majesty to this, they suggested the base and insidious behaviour of his allies in the late sea-fights, and the offers that had been already made them by France of a separate peace, without any respect had to his Majesty. These, with the propounding of fair conditions, had such a weight with the king, that he proposed the terms offered to his parliament; and, on their passing a vote, "humbly desiring him to proceed in a treaty with the States, in order to a speedy peace," he directed Sir William Temple to negociate with the Marquis Del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador, who was provided with full powers from the States-general for that purpose; and, at three meetings, the treaty was concluded and signed, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

While this treaty was upon the carpet at home, there happened an accident in the Mediterranean, which, though of little consequence in itself, yet, from certain circumstances that attended it, deserves to be recorded. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, being in those seas with his squadron, it happened that Captain De Witte, in a man of war called the Schaerlaes, which carried thirty-six pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with Captain Harman, in the Tyger, a small English frigate which had been careening at Tangier, and came with him into the harbour of Cadiz, where the Dutchman also careened. The Spaniards jesting with Captain De Witte, and telling him that he durst not fight the English captain, and that this made them so good friends; Admiral Evertz heard it, and thereupon told De Witte, that he must, for the honour of his nation, challenge Captain Harman. He did so; and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, sixty mariners and seventy soldiers. Captain Harman had but one hundred and eighty-four men in all; however, at a day's notice he stood to sea, and fairly engaged the Dutch frigate, in sight of the town.

Their ships were within pistol-shot before either of them fired; and then Captain Harman's broadside brought the Dutchman's main-mast by the board, and killed and wounded him fourscore men. The English captain followed his advantage, entered the enemy's vessel with his resolute crew, and became master of the ship in an hour's time; but she was quite disabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The English had only nine killed, and fifteen wounded; amongst whom was their brave captain, by a musket-shot, which went in at his left eye, and out between the ear and the jaw-bone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived several years after. Thus the maritime powers, though their interest was, and must ever be the same, did their utmost, from false notions of honour, to destroy each other, and answer the ends of their common enemy; till the voice of the people, both in England and Holland, rouzed their governors to a just sense of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which lasted till within these few years.

This treaty of peace was signed at London, February 9, 1674, and thereby those differences were all adjusted, which had so often and so long disturbed both states. In the first place, the business of the flag was regulated according to the king's sense of his rights, which the States, till now, would never admit. In their treaty with Cromwell, they did, indeed, stipulate, that their ships should salute the English; but then this was expressed in such loose terms, as afforded the Dutch room to suggest, that the doing it was no more than a point of civility. As the treaties of 1662, 1667, and 1668, were all, in a manner, built on this sandy foundation, the case had been hitherto the same, and asserted so to be by the States: but now the thing was put out of all dispute; and what was before styled courtesy, was here confessed to be a right. The extent of the British seas were particularly mentioned; and the States undertook, that not only separate ships, but whole fleets, should strike their sails to any fleet, or single ship, carrying the king's flag, as the custom was, in the days of his ancestors.

The East India trade was likewise settled so as to prevent subsequent debates, and not leave either party at liberty to encroach on the other. As to lesser matters, commissioners were to meet on both sides at London to decide them; and, in case they did not agree in the space of three months, then the queen of Spain was to arbitrate. Such of the planters as had been restrained by the Dutch at Surinam were to be left at their full liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their effects. Places taken on both sides were by this treaty to be restored, and the States-general were to pay his Majesty eight hundred thousand patacoons at four payments, the first immediately after the ratification of this treaty, and the other three by annual payments.

By a particular treaty it was agreed, that the English regiments in the French service should be suffered to wear out for want of recruits, and by a secret article it was settled, that neither side should assist the enemies of the other either by land or sea. We may guess how acceptable this treaty was to the States, by the present made to the Spanish ambassador for negociating it, which was sixteen thousand crowns, and the gratification of six thousand, which were given to Don Bernardo De Salinas. Thus ended the last of our Dutch wars, which, though made against the interest and will of the people, terminated highly to their advantage, whereas the former war, though it was begun at the instance of the nation, ended but indifferently; so little correspondence is there between the grounds and issues of things.*

The corsairs of Tripoli having for some time committed great outrages on the English trade, Sir John Narborough was sent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reason. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, so that no ship could go in or come out, he manned all his boats, and sent them under the command of Lieutenant Shovel, afterwards Sir Cloudesley, the famous admiral, into the harbour, where he seized the guard-ship, and afterwards burnt the following vessels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour; *viz.* the White Eagle Crowned, a fifty gun ship, the

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* In consequence of this, a treaty of commerce was concluded between his Majesty and the States-general at London, December 1, 1674; by the eighth article of which, in pursuance of former treaties, free ships were to make free goods, which has made great noise of late. Upon this article two remarks may be made: 1st, That at this time it was in our favour; so that the king or his ministers were not over-reached: 2dly, This clause extends only to such places as either party might trade to in time of peace; but in time of peace the Dutch were not allowed to trade to the French islands, and, therefore, by this treaty they can claim no such liberty in time of war.

Looking-glass, which carried thirty-six, the Santa Clara of twenty-four, and a French vessel of twenty; after which, he safely returned to the fleet without the loss of a single man. This extraordinary action struck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them instantly sue for peace, which, however, did not immediately take place, because they absolutely refused to make good the losses sustained by the English. Sir John thereupon cannonaded the town, and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vast magazine of timber, which was to have served for the building of ships. When all this failed of reducing these people, Sir John sailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for some time, returned suddenly upon the enemy, and distressed them so much, that they were glad to submit to a peace on the terms prescribed.

However, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, some of their corsairs, returning into port, not only expressed a great dislike thereto, but actually deposed the Dey for making it; and, without any regard thereto, began to take all English ships as before. Sir John remaining still in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what passed, suddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli, and began with such violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late disturbance to condign punishment.

In 1679, we had some differences with the Algerines on account of their making prize of English ships, under pretence that they were not furnished with proper passes. Upon this Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to demand satisfaction; which he procured, as it must always be procured, by dint of force. This peace, however, did not last long; for, in a year or two, they committed the like outrages: upon which, Commodore Herbert, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington, went thither with a few ships, and compelled them to make satisfaction for what had passed, and to give the strongest assurances of their acting in another manner for the future. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the last in this reign.

There is yet one transaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the strong and expensive fortress of Tangier. We have already shewn how that place came into the hands of the English, and what pains were taken to preserve it. In the space of twenty years it cost the nation an immense sum of money; and yet many doubted, all things considered, whether, after all, it was of any real use to us or not. When we first had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which there was a fine mole run out at a vast charge. Several societies, or partnerships, which undertook to perfect this work, raised great sums for that purpose; and, after wasting them, miscarried. At last, however, all difficulties were in a manner overcome, and this work finished in such a manner, that it might be said to vie with those of the Romans. But the House of Commons, in 1680, having expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison kept there, which they suspected to be no better than a nursery for a Popish army; and discovering, withal, no thoughts of providing for it any longer, the king began, likewise, to entertain thoughts of quitting, destroying, and bringing home his forces from thence. He endeavoured to keep this as secret as possible; however, the Lord Arlington is said to have given some hint of his Majesty's intention to the Portuguese ambassador, who expressed great discontent thereat, and was very desirous that it should be again delivered into the hands of his master.

But King Charles doubting, not without reason, whether the king of Portugal would be able to maintain the possession of it against the Moors, and foreseeing the terrible consequences of such a port falling into their hands, notwithstanding the offer of large sums, persisted steadily in his first resolution. In 1683, the Lord Dartmouth was constituted captain-general of his Majesty's forces in Africa, and governor of Tangiers, and sent, as admiral of an English fleet, to demolish the works, blow up the mole, and bring home the garrison from thence; all which he very effectually performed: so that the harbour is, at this time, entirely spoiled; and, though now in the hands of the Moors, is a very inconsiderable place. One circumstance attending its demolition deserves to be remarked, because it shews the temper and spirit of the king. He directed a considerable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if, through the vicissitudes of fortune, to which all sublunary things are liable, this city should ever be restored, there might remain some memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of Britain. Thus, through disputes between the king and parliament, whatever party-suspicions might suggest, the British nation lost a place and port of great importance.

It is on all hands confessed, that never any English, perhaps I might, without distinction of countries, say, any prince, understood maritime concerns better than Charles II. He piqued himself very much on making, as occasion offered, minute inquiries into whatever regarded naval affairs: he understood ship-building perfectly, made draughts of vessels with his own hands; he was no stranger to the conveniencies and inconveniencies of every port in his dominions. He listened to proposals for making a yard, dock, and arsenal, at Christchurch in Hampshire. He once intended to restore and improve the haven at Dover. He caused a survey of Guernsey to be made; and had actually the plan drawn, of a harbour, mole, and citadel, which were to have been constructed in that island; and which would have been all of infinite use and benefit to this nation: but he was so expensive in his pleasures, the jealousies raised against him were so strong, he was so much in the hands of favourites and mistresses, he was so frequently and so egregiously betrayed by both, and his finances, through his whole reign were so cramped, and in such disorder, that he was not able to accomplish any one of these great designs; which, nevertheless, it is not improper should be here succinctly remembered.

But, in respect to the royal navy, which through his whole reign claimed his peculiar attention, he was more fortunate. On his entering into possession of his kingdoms, it was commonly believed, from the fine appearance of the squadron that convoyed him from Holland, his marine was in excellent order; and, for reasons of state, the king himself encouraged and confirmed that opinion; but the fact, notwithstanding this, was quite otherwise. After the death of Cromwell, the funds for the fleet were diverted to various other purposes; the stores were, in a great measure, exhausted, in fitting out Admiral Montague's squadron to the Baltic; the small remains of arms and ammunition were issued, by the rump, for suppressing Sir George Booth; the confusions that ensued gave opportunities to embezzle what little matter was left, and there remained no authority to restrain, much less to repair these mischiefs. This accounts for the king's finding things, in reference to the fleet and ordnance, in so weak and defenceless a condition; and explains, likewise, his conduct in covering it as carefully as it was possible, to prevent either domestic or foreign enemies (of both which he had enough) from availing themselves of this his weak and distressed situation. It was to conceal this that he demanded nothing from parliament; but, putting both departments into the hands of those in whom he could entirely confide, supplying them, from time to time, with such sums as he could borrow, he, with much silence and secrecy, rectified all things; so that, at the opening of the first Dutch war in his reign, the navy and ordnance both were in perfect order, and all parts of the service provided for in an ample and regular manner. But, though this was truly the state of ships and stores at his restoration, yet, in respect to men, it was far otherwise. The sailors were numerous, brave, and well disciplined: as to commanders of every rank, no navy was ever better-furnished, as they had been picked by the long parliament, trained under Blake, Monk, and Ayscue; inured to hardships, flushed with victories, covetous of honour; the superior officers were all of distinguished merit, and abundance of very able men employed therein. It must likewise be confessed, to the honour of his government, that he preserved them in their several posts, without any respect to party: which, without question, contributed not a little to the increase of our naval power.

How intent he was, for the first ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency this way, appears from all the candid histories of those times, from the collections of orders, and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy while the duke of York was admiral, published some years ago, and in every body's hands; and, in a short and narrow compass, from the speech made by the Lord-keeper Bridgeman; who affirmed, that, from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to less than half a million a year.* But after the second

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* "Happy Future State of England," by Sir Peter Pett, p. 185. The design of this speech was to induce the House of Commons to grant a supply for this particular service of increasing the royal navy; and, after having shewn the great importance of such a proceeding, his lordship goes on thus: "My lords and gentlemen, his majesty is confident that you will not be contented to see him deprived of all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his kingdoms, nay, even to all Christendom, in the repose and quiet of it; that you will not be content alone to see your neighbours strengthening themselves in shipping so much more than

Dutch war the king grew more saving in this article; and yet, in 1678, when the nation in general expected a war with France, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. Pepys, secretary to the Admiralty, has left us a particular account of its state in the month of August that year; which, as it is very short, I think it may not be amiss to insert in the note below.*

Of these, seventy-six were in sea-pay, the storehouses and magazines in complete order, and, which is still more to the purpose, thirty capital ships were then actually in building, eleven newly launched, and nineteen upon the stocks; and, that the reader may frame a just notion of the increase of the navy, during this part of the king's reign, I must observe, that at midsummer 1660, the whole fleet of the nation consisted but of sixty-five vessels of all sizes, as appears by an original letter under the hand of Mr. Secretary Coventry. But, after this period of time, I mean from the date of the list, the king finding himself extremely distressed at home, and, consequently, in a situation perplexed enough abroad, was persuaded, or rather compelled, to alter the management of his navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himself easy in his civil government; Sir Anthony Deane,

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they were before, and at home to see the government struggling every year with difficulties, and not able to keep up our navies equal with theirs. He finds that, by his accounts from the year 1660 to the late war, the ordinary charge of the fleet, *communibus annis*, came to about 500,000*l.* a year; and it cannot be supported with less."

* Abstract of the fleet:—

Rate.	Number.	Men.
1	5	3135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1400
6	7	423
Fireships	6	340

Total.... 83 ships 18323 men.

According to Voltaire, the French navy, at this period, consisted of 100 ships of the line, several of which carried 100 guns, and 60,000 seamen.

Mr. Pepys, and several other old officers of the navy, having been so unfortunate to incur the displeasure of the House of Commons, by whom they were committed.

This new administration, with respect to naval affairs, subsisted for about five years; and, if it had continued five years longer, would, in all probability, have remedied even the numerous and mighty evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole royal navy, and so leaving no room for future mistakes. It was a just sense of this that induced the king, in 1684, to resume the management of the fleet into his own hands, to restore again most of the old officers, and to undertake the bringing things once more into order: but, before any considerable progress could be made in so great a work, his Majesty died, and left the care of it to his successor.

The trade of the nation I have heretofore shewn to have been in a very declining situation at the time of the restoration; I have also observed that it was much helped by several treaties of peace made soon after; but I am far from denying that, through the king's too strict intercourse with France, his running counter, in many respects, to the interests as well as inclinations of his best subjects, and that dissolute spirit of luxury and corruption, which, if not introduced, was, at least, countenanced and encouraged by the king's temper and practice, he might hinder our trade from reaching that height which otherwise it would have done.

Yet, upon the whole, I am fully persuaded that, during his whole reign, we were very great gainers thereby; and this, I think I can make clearly appear. In the first place, the former Dutch war was most certainly undertaken for the sake of trade; nor can it be conceived that, in the second, the Dutch would have pushed as they did, from any other motive than an apprehension that, from rivals, we should become their superiors, in commerce; to which, from the very genius of their state, they could not patiently submit. In the next place, let us consider the mighty losses sustained in the space of fifteen years by the Plague, the Fire of London, and the two Dutch wars. They have been computed, by men much better skilled in political arithmetic than I pretend to be, at little less than twenty-seven millions.*

But, supposing them to have amounted only to twenty millions, the nation must have been reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty and distress, if she had not been relieved by the vast profits of her foreign trade. This it was that repaired the loss of our people in a surprising manner, raised the city of London, like a phœnix, brighter and more beautiful for having been in flames, and increased our shipping to double what it was at the time of the king's coming in. These are facts agreed on by the greatest men that ever handled subjects of this nature, grounded on such evidence as could not deceive them, and justified by effects which even posterity may contemplate, and from thence discern the wisdom and truth of their computations.†

The East India Company were exceedingly favoured and protected, especially in the beginning of this reign; the African Company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vast profits to the proprietors and the nation. Many of our plantations were settled by his Majesty's favour; such as Pennsylvania, Carolina, &c. Others were restored to this nation by his arms; such as New York and the Jerseys; and all had such encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may guess from what a modern writer, no way partial to this prince, says of Barbadoes; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred sail of ships, produced two hundred thousand pounds a year clear profit to this nation, and maintained one hundred thousand people there and here.

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* By Sir William Petty, in his Political Arithmetic; who, without question, understood the grounds of that art as well as ever any man did. Dr. Davenant also was of the same mind, and says expressly, that these losses might be computed at between twenty-four and twenty-seven millions. Discourses on the Public Revenue and Trade of England, Vol. ii.

† See Pett's Happy future state of England; Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, and his Essays; Dr. Davenant's book before cited, and his Essay upon the probable Methods of making People gainers in the Balance of Trade.

These are high calculations; but I believe the person who made them is able to justify the account; and, therefore, I make no question that Sir William Petty was in the right, when he calculated our exports at ten millions per annum. This agrees very well with the state of our customs, which fell then little short of a million, though in 1660 they were farmed for four hundred thousand pounds, as they were once let by Queen Elizabeth at thirty-six thousand. Dr. Davenant, an excellent judge in these matters, having duly weighed all the calculations I have mentioned, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience, pronounces the balance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a year; and less, I think, it could not well be. The bounds prescribed to this work will not allow me to say more on this subject, and I must have violated the duty I owe to truth and my country, if I had said less.

We are now to speak particularly of the most remarkable among those illustrious persons, whose gallant actions at sea have been already occasionally mentioned in this history; men who, in point of military and civil virtue, have deserved as well of their country as men could do, and whose fame, therefore, ought to be transmitted to posterity with due respect.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK,

AFTERWARDS JAMES II. KING OF ENGLAND.

Although we shall treat of this prince and of his reign in another part of the work, yet it appears but right, and to what he has an undoubted claim, to give him a place among our distinguished British admirals. He was the second son of Charles I. by Henrietta of France; was born in October 1633, and immediately declared duke of York. After the capture of Oxford, during the turbulent reign of his father, he was carried to London, by the parliamentary army, in 1646, and placed under the care of the duke of Northumberland; but, in 1648, he contrived to make his escape; and, in the following year, joined his mother at Paris. At the age of twenty he served in the French army, under the celebrated Turenne, by whose example and instructions he acquired a very high reputation. He afterwards entered into the Spanish army in Flanders, under the prince of Condè; and thus usefully and honourably passed the period of his exile in acquiring military experience, and a character for spirit and prowess suited to his birth. At the restoration of Charles, James took the command of the fleet, as high admiral; and he was soon after privately married to Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Clarendon. His appointment as high admiral took place on the 4th of June 1660. The diligence and attention shewn by him to the functions of his office, were extremely grateful to the people, who were satisfied that their sovereign's choice had been influenced by prudence, as well as by fraternal affection. Maritime and commercial affairs occupied the duke's mind, and he was at the head of an African company, when in 1664, he took a part in promoting a Dutch war, for the supposed interests of trade. Immediately after the declaration of war against the Dutch, in the year 1665, his royal highness, disdaining that quietude and retreat from danger, which his very high birth and elevated station might appear to have warranted, in a man less gallant than himself, determined to command the fleet in person. Pursuant to this resolution, having raised his flag on board the Royal Charles, a ship of 80 guns, he put to sea on the 25th of April, at the head of a powerful force, consisting of 114 sail, all men of war and frigates, besides smaller vessels, and more than twenty fire-ships. After several weeks cruise on the coast of Holland, which was productive of no real advantage, he was, owing to tempestuous weather and a scarcity of provisions, obliged to return. The Dutch admiral, Opdam, seized this opportunity of putting to sea, and capturing a homeward-bound fleet from Hamburgh, together with its convoy, a thirty-four gun frigate. The duke felt mortified, and lost no time in endeavouring to take revenge, and to obtain some satisfaction for the injury done to the commerce of his country. At length the two fleets met on the 3d of June, and, after a most severe and bloody contest, in which the personal heroism of the different commanders has rarely been equalled, and never, perhaps, in the annals of the world, exceeded, a most decided and complete victory was obtained by the English. Opdam's own ship, the Endracht, of 84 guns, was blown up while engaged with the Royal Charles, ship to ship, and nineteen of his fleet were sunk or taken, with the loss of a single vessel on the part of the English. The duke was in the thickest of the fight, and three of his friends were killed by his side. This signal advantage was not pursued with that energy necessary to render it so beneficial and conclusive as it might have been; but there is certainly no proof that the duke was accessary to such miscarriage, but, as we have seen, the conduct of Brounker, his gentleman of the bed-chamber, brought suspicion on him. The discontent excited on the occasion was, probably, the principal reason why he declined going to sea again for some years;

chusing rather to remain at home, to superintend and direct the civil duties of his high office. At the commencement of the second Dutch war, in the year 1672, his royal highness again commanded the fleet in person, and again displayed the same degree of spirit and gallantry which he had shewn before, engaging the celebrated De Ruyter ship to ship, till his own, the St. Michael, was completely disabled. In this engagement the earl of Sandwich, who was second in command, was blown up, and the duke was obliged to shift his own flag from the St. Michael to the Loyal London. Notwithstanding the ill behaviour and almost total inactivity which have been already noticed, of the French under the Count D'Estrees, the English obtained the victory; the Dutch retired, and were not pursued, the loss being nearly equal on both sides. The passing of the Test Act, in 1673, deprived the nation of all further service from his royal highness, as well in the civil as military line; and from this time till his accession to the throne, in 1684, he lived in a state of retirement.

GENERAL GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE AND KNIGHT OF THE GARTER.

If the intrinsic worth of a man's actions were sufficient to secure the applause of succeeding times, there would be little occasion to enter minutely into the memoirs of this great soldier and seaman; and, on the other hand, if there be any thing laudable in removing those shades which the envious are always labouring to throw over the reputation of the worthy, then certainly no man's life would claim greater attention than his of whom I am speaking, the merit of whose services scarcely raised him more friends, than the glory of them excited detractors.

He was by birth a gentleman, descended on the father's side from an ancient and honourable family, settled from the time of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonshire; and, by the female line, sprung from the victorious Edward IV.* He was the second son of Sir Thomas Monk, a man whose qualities and virtues deserved a better fortune; for time, in doing honour to his family, had almost worn out his estate. His son George was born on the 6th of December 1608; and his father, having not much wealth to give, intended him, from his childhood, for the sword, and therefore bestowed on him such an education as was requisite to qualify him for the profession of arms, for which he gave a proof of his capacity when he was scarcely able to wield them.

In the first year of the reign of King Charles I. his Majesty, who had then in view a war with Spain, came down to Plymouth, in order to inspect the naval preparations that were making there. Sir Thomas Monk had a mind to pay his duty to his prince, though his debts, derived rather from his ancestors extravagance than his own, made him somewhat afraid of the law. To remedy this evil, he sent his son George to the under-sheriff of Devonshire with a considerable present, desiring that, on so extraordinary an occasion, he might be safe from any insult while he attended the king. The sheriff took the present, and granted his request, but, soon after receiving a larger from one of his creditors, took him in execution in the face of the county. George Monk, whose youth led him to think this a strange action, went to Exeter, and, after expostulating with the pettifogger, who was altogether insensible as to reproaches, took his leave of him in a more intelligible language, and caned him so heartily, that he left him in no condition of following him. This adventure sent him on board the fleet, which, under the command of Lord Wimbleton, shortly after sailed for Cadiz, when he was in the seventeenth year of his age: and thus he began, as he ended, his service to his country at sea.

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* The first notice that I believe the world ever had of this matter was, from a pamphlet, printed in 1659, intitled, "The pedigree and descent of his excellency General Monk, setting forth how he is descended from King Edward III. by a branch and slip of the white rose, the house of York, and likewise his extraction from Richard king of the Romans." This was published with a view, I suppose, to countenance a design some people had entertained of inclining the general to assume the crown himself, instead of restoring the king. The fact, however, is true as to his descent, which may be seen in Dugdale and other authors. But this descent could not possibly give him any title to the crown, since the lady Frances Plantagenet was first married into the family of Basset, and had issue of that marriage; and, which is still more to the purpose, her father, Arthur, Viscount L'Isle, was only natural son to Edward IV. We cannot wonder, therefore, that so thinking a man as General Monk despised such a pitiful strain of flattery on a circumstance otherwise very honourable to his family.

In this voyage he served as a volunteer under his near relation, Sir Richard Greenvile: the next year we find him with a pair of colours, under the brave Sir John Boroughs, in the unfortunate expedition to the Isle of Rhe. Such unlucky beginnings would certainly have daunted a less resolute mind than that of Mr. Monk, who was distinguished, in his youth, by a steadiness of temper which he maintained to his dying hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by passion or chilled by fear.

In 1628, being then completely of age, he went over to Holland, and served in the regiment of the earl of Oxford, and afterwards in that of the Lord Goring, who gave him the command of his own company, before he was thirty years of age. In this service, Mr. Monk was present in several sieges and battles; and, pursuing steadily the study of his profession, became a complete master therein. In the last year of his stay in Holland, his winter-quarters were assigned him in Dort, where the magistrates punishing some of his soldiers, for matters rather proper for the inspection of a court martial, Captain Monk expostulated the matter so warmly, that the point came to be decided by the prince of Orange, who, though he, in a like case, had given judgment in favour of Sir Richard Cave, (and thereby misled the captain) now, to gratify the people, gave it for the burghers; which so disgusted Monk, who, under a calm behaviour concealed a very high spirit, that he soon after threw up his commission, and never saw the Dutch more as a friend.

On his return home, he found his country in great confusion, a war newly broke out with the rebellious Scots, and an army raising to chastise them, in which he served as a lieutenant-colonel, under the earl of Newport; and, if his advice had been taken, things had not ended as they did.* When the war blazed out in Ireland, in 1641, he, through the favour of his cousin, the earl of Leicester, then lord-lieutenant, was appointed to command his own regiment; in which post he did great service, and might have been governor of Dublin, but for the jealousy of the earl of Ormonde.

In 1643, he returned into England to serve his Majesty, to whom he was introduced at Oxford, and honoured with a conference which lasted some time, and which satisfied the king how ill he had been used by his ministers, who, upon some intelligence from Dublin, prevailed upon his Majesty to take away his regiment and give it to Major Warren; a man of so much honour that they found no small difficulty in prevailing on him to accept it. To make Colonel Monk some amends, the king constituted him a major-general of the Irish brigade, and then sent him to his command; which he had not enjoyed long before he, with many other officers, were surprised by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and sent prisoners to Hull; from whence, by special direction of the parliament, he was transferred to the Tower of London, where he remained several years a prisoner, in circumstances narrow enough; though his brother, who was a royalist, and consequently the less able, did what he could for him, and his generous master sent him, from Oxford, one hundred pounds in gold; which was a large sum out of so low an exchequer.

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* Skinner, in his life of Monk, asserts, that Lieutenant Monk was one of the few officers who seconded the earl of Strafford in his desire of fighting the Scots, instead of treating with them, which at all events must have served the king's purpose; but his tenderness for his countrymen ruined him, and, by bearing so much from rebels in one kingdom, he invited a rebellion in another.

In 1646-7, when the fury of the civil war was over, by the total ruin of the king's affairs, Colonel Monk accepted a commission under his relation, the Lord L'Isle, whom the parliament had appointed to the government of Ireland. When, in consequence of this, he obtained his liberty, he went, before he left the Tower, to pay his respects to the venerable Dr. Matthew Wren, lord bishop of Ely; and, having received his blessing, the colonel took his leave in these words: "My lord, I am now going to serve the king, the best I may, against his bloody rebels in Ireland; and I hope I shall one day live to do further service to the royal cause in England." At this time, however, he was not very fortunate; for, after a short stay in that kingdom, he returned with Lord L'Isle, whose difference with the marquis of Ormonde hindered either of them from serving their country effectually: but Colonel Monk did not long remain idle in England; for the parliament knew his abilities too well, and had two quick a sense of the state of Irish affairs, not to employ him in the only service to which he was inclined: and thus he returned a third time into Ireland, with the title of commander in chief of the English forces in the north; where, in conjunction with Colonel Jones and Sir Charles Coote, he took Athboy, Portlester, Ballyshannon, Nabber, and Ballyho. Afterwards, with the assistance of Sir Price Coghrun and Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, he surprised Carrickfergus, the head of the Scots quarters in that kingdom, and in it Major-general Monroe and his troops, who was drawing them out, with an intention to join the forces of his nephew, Sir George

Monroe, in Scotland. This action and success, says Whitelocke, was one of the first that brought Colonel Monk into extraordinary favour with the parliament, who began to have more confidence in him than they had formerly, since his revolt to them. A letter of thanks was sent to Monk, his officers, and soldiers; he was likewise appointed governor of Carrickfergus, and five hundred pounds were ordered him, as a reward for his good services. As to Major-general Monroe, he was conducted to England, where, upon his arrival, he was committed to the fleet; the officer, Major Brough, who had the care of him, receiving two hundred pounds, by command of the parliament, for his attention in that particular.

As for our colonel, he pursued the path he was in with patience; and though it was a very difficult thing to manage such a divided authority, yet the prudence of Monk enabled him to surmount this difficulty, and many others, some of which were yet greater. He was forced to make war without money, which he did so effectually, as to reduce Owen Roe O'Neile to the utmost distress, by carrying off provisions where that was practicable, and burning them where it was not. Yet, in the spring of the year 1649, Colonel Monk found himself in so weak a condition, by the desertion brought on his army through the detestation which the soldiers had of the king's murder, that he was constrained to enter into a treaty with this Owen Roe O'Neile; which certainly saved the few troops he had under his command, and thereby preserved the parliament's interest in that country. However, it gave such offence, that, on his return, he was subjected to a strict inquiry by the House of Commons; who, after a very full hearing of the matter, came to a resolution against the treaty, but, at the same time, justified Monk's intention therein, which, though but a partial censure, some think the General never forgot.

I must own, this appears to me one of the darkest parts of his history; but what I find most probable is, that the parliament's resolution was intended purely to wipe off the odium of having treated with an Irish Papist, and that Colonel Monk did nothing therein but under direction: and this, I think, sufficiently appears from the parliament's having carried on a private treaty with an agent of O'Neile at London, and from the style of their resolution, in which, though they declare the fact to be criminal, yet they admit the man to be innocent; which I conceive he could not well be, unless he had known their intentions.*

Oliver Cromwell was now intrusted with the sole direction of the Irish war, and Monk was out of all employment; which might have straitened him in his private fortune, if his elder brother had not died without male-issue, by which he inherited the estate of the family. About this time also he declared his marriage, or perhaps somewhat later; for, it seems, he did not care the world should know he had a wife, till he was in possession of a competent fortune to maintain her. His repose was of no long continuance; for, in the year 1650, Cromwell, when he was about to march into Scotland against the king, engaged him to accept of a new commission.

Skinner and some other writers talk, upon this occasion, of a secret fate which over-ruled him in this action; nay, some of them would insinuate, that it was purely to revenge the treason of the Scots against King Charles I. that he took arms against them now, when they were fighting to restore King Charles II. But I must freely own, that it appears to me the highest impiety to charge upon the providence of God what would be thought weakness in man, as, on the other hand, I see no reason why we should sacrifice truth to our zeal for any person, or any cause. I revere Monk as much as any man, and yet I must speak it as my opinion, that he deserted his principles upon this occasion, that he might gratify his ambition. Cromwell was so sensible of his merit, that he took a very unusual way to provide him with a regiment, by drawing six companies out of Sir Arthur Haslerig's, and six out of Colonel Fenwick's; and, to secure him still farther, he made him lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and thus he was again embarked with the parliament through the interest of their general.

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* The resolution is in these words: "That this House doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Colonel Monk in the treaty and cessation made between him and Owen Roe O'Neile; and that this House doth detest the thoughts of closing with any party of Popish rebels there, who have had their hands in shedding English blood. Nevertheless, the House being satisfied, that what the said Colonel Monk did therein was, in his apprehension, necessary for the preservation of the parliament of England's interest; that the House is content the farther consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not at any time, hereafter, be called in question."

In this expedition Cromwell, though he was a very knowing and great officer, certainly run into a dangerous error, which he discovered somewhat of the latest, and then began to retreat towards Dunbar, the Scots pressing hard upon his rear. Finding himself distressed, he called a council of war, in which opinions were divided, till General Monk delivered his in these words: "Sir, the Scots have numbers and the hills; those are their advantages: we have discipline and despair, two things that will make soldiers fight; and these are ours. My advice, therefore, is to attack them immediately; which if you follow, I am ready to command the van." His proposal being accepted, he began the attack, and, as Ludlow acknowledges, was the sole instrument of that victory which gained Cromwell so great reputation.

The following summer he spent in reducing the best part of Scotland, and particularly the town of Dundee, which made a good defence; he took it, notwithstanding, by storm, put six hundred of the garrison to the sword, and committed other acts of severity, which, however necessary they might be to his private interest, were certainly detrimental enough to his public character, the thing itself rendering him terrible to the royalists; and the manner of it gave distaste to General Ludlow, and all the sober men of that party. The fatigue of so much business, and perhaps some extraordinary agitations of mind threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness: upon this he applied for leave to return into England; which having obtained, he went to Bath, recovered his health, and, coming to London, found himself named a commissioner for bringing about an union between Scotland and England, in which, without doubt, he was properly employed, since few people at that time knew the interest of both nations better than he did.

The Dutch war gave a new occasion for removing General Monk from his command in Scotland, to employ him on board the fleet. The death of Colonel Popham made way for this: it was necessary to supply his loss, by sending an experienced officer in his stead, and this induced the parliament to cast their eyes upon Monk. He was now nearly forty-five years of age, which seemed a little of the latest to bring a man into a new scene of life; yet it must be remembered, that he was bred in a maritime county, and had served at sea in his youth; so that the preferment was not absolutely out of his way; or if it was, he soon made it appear, that he could easily accommodate himself to any service that might be beneficial to his country.

We find him with the fleet in May 1653, and on the second of June he engaged that of the Dutch, being on board the Resolution with Admiral Deane, who, in the beginning of the action, was killed by a chain-shot, a new invention generally ascribed to De Witte. Monk, with great presence of mind, threw his cloak over the body, and having taken two or three turns, and encouraged the men to do their duty, ordered it to be removed into his cabin. The dispute continued two days, and ended at last in a complete victory gained by the English. The Dutch, it is true, denied this, and the States went so far as to send a letter to their foreign ministers, directing them to assert, that it was but a drawn battle: yet Van Tromp in his letter, as we have seen, acknowledges the contrary, and lays the blame on the want of ammunition, and the base behaviour of many of his captains. This is certain, that Monk discovered, upon the occasion, such a spirit of pushing things to the utmost, as gave him great reputation.

He soon increased this, by engaging the Dutch again on the 29th of July, where he likewise fought two days, and gained a second complete victory, as we have elsewhere shewn, and shall therefore insist only on a few particulars relating to his personal conduct in this place. The Dutch fleet was far superior to his, and yet he not only attacked them, but engaged with thirty sail of light frigates, while the rest of the fleet were a-stern, and could not get up. The 30th proved a foul day, and so prevented any further fighting; on the 31st the Dutch had a supply of twenty-five large ships, which did not hinder Monk, who now commanded in chief, from attacking them, though he knew they had another great advantage; *viz.* a number of fire-ships, whereas he had none: nay, as if he had been secure of victory, he gave orders that no ship should be taken, or quarter given; for he saw that sending off ships to convoy them, weakened his own fleet, and thereby lessened the effects of their victories. His judgment appeared to be right, from the consequence of this battle, in which the loss of the Dutch, especially that of their gallant Admiral Van Tromp, was so great, that it would not admit of any disguise; but the States were forced to send their ministers here, to conclude a peace upon any terms that could be got.

After this, he was sent upon the coast of Holland, to destroy all the pretences of the Dutch, in case they had set up any, and to make their people sensible that they were thoroughly beaten. On his return to London, he found the little parliament sitting, by the authority of General Cromwell, which assembly treated Monk, however, so kindly, that the general began to be jealous of him, till, upon repeated conversations, he was thoroughly persuaded that Monk thought them, what he was willing every body should think them—a crew of ignorant enthusiasts; and then he became perfectly easy, and took Monk into his favour; who, notwithstanding all this kindness, declared himself against the peace intended with the Dutch; which Cromwell nevertheless made, having, in order to that, taken upon him the title of Protector.

To this great change the States contributed not a little by their ambassadors, who represented to General Cromwell, that the parliament he had been pleased to call were a set of men fitter for Bedlam than the government of a state, with whom it was impossible to treat or conclude any thing; but that, if he would assume the government, they would submit to any terms he should think reasonable. When he was once fixed in his protectorate, and felt the weight of governing three kingdoms, he began to think of relieving himself, by sending proper officers into two of them: and, in this partition, Scotland fell to the share of General Monk. It was in the spring of the year 1654, that Cromwell took this resolution, and Monk readily accepting the commission, went down thither in the month of April the same year.

He found the kingdom in the utmost confusion, the English army very small and very ill governed, being under the command of Colonel Deane, a timorous man, and one that knew not how to direct any thing in such a critical conjuncture. A great part of the nobility were in arms for the king; and, as to the rest of the people, they were split into innumerable parties by quarrels amongst their ministers. The general shewed himself a true servant of Cromwell; he not only pursued the business of the war indefatigably, but, by setting a price on the heads of the principal cavaliers, filled their minds with such distrusts, that they ever after acted in such a manner as shewed they were in confusion. He settled garrisons and magazines in the most distant parts of the nation, using such severity towards all who resisted, and such lenity to all who submitted, that, in a very short time, he subdued the whole kingdom.

When the war was once over, he fixed himself at the house of the countess of Buccleugh, at Dalkeith, within four miles of Edinburgh: where, while he governed the kingdom more absolutely than most of its monarchs had done, he lived with all the moderation of a private man, and made husbandry and gardening his sole amusements. Cromwell sent down a commission, empowering certain persons to direct civil affairs, under the title of a Council of State, consisting of the Lord Broghill, who was president, Colonel Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle, Colonel William Lockhart, Colonel Adrian Scroop, Colonel John Wethum, and Major-general Disbrow. The majority of this council concurred with Monk in every thing; so that, in the main, the civil as well as military power was in his hands; and he managed it in such a manner, that the people had not either reason or inclination to complain; but, on the contrary, were very thankful and contented. He seems, however, by his letters, to have been strongly and steadily attached to Cromwell; since we find, that he not only communicated to him all that he could discover of the king's intelligence there with others, but sent him also the copy of a letter, written by king Charles II. to himself; which hitherto has been always mentioned as a proof of Monk's early affection for the king's service, on a supposition, that, though he did not answer, he concealed it; which supposition is now clearly and absolutely overturned. Yet all his precaution did not secure him from the jealousy of the protector, who was actually contriving how to remove him, when death put a period to his projects. A little before his end, however, he wrote the general a long letter, concluding with the following postscript, which, I conceive, affords us a better picture of Oliver than is any where to be met with, and, which is no less singular, drawn by his own hand.

P. S.

"There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called GEORGE MONK, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce CHARLES STUART. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

Yet, as a creature of Cromwell's, he was hated by the commonwealth party, and a conspiracy had been formed against him by Colonel Overton, in which Sindercome had undertaken to murder the general, who afterwards made a like attempt upon Cromwell; but Monk having discovered and disappointed the plot, contented himself with sending the authors of it up to London. The principal cause of the protector's jealousy was, the kindness shewn by the general to the Scots, for finding them of his own temper, that is to say, of a civil, though reserved nature, he admitted them freely to his presence, of what party soever they were.

Immediately on Oliver's death he proclaimed Richard, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true; *viz.* that his father had directed him to be governed chiefly by Monk's advice; whereas he was scarcely in his senses, when he appointed him to the succession. This, however, was very well judged in the new protector, and seemed to bespeak his advice in such a manner as that he could not, consistent with the deep regard he professed for his father, refuse giving it him; and therefore the general, some time after, sent it by his brother-in-law. The paper is yet remaining, and will convince any one who reads it, that Monk, though a very plain man, was a very sound politician, and, like an honest and sensible counsel, gave the clearest and best opinion, upon his intricate and perplexed case that it would bear. If Richard could have supported himself at all, it would have rivetted Monk in his favour; who, however, might doubt the possibility of that, when he gave it. He judged rightly, that, if things went well, it would do him much good; and, if they went ill, it could do him no hurt. The further to conciliate Monk's friendship, the protector sent down Commissary Clarges, brother to Lady Monk, laden with promises; which, however, had no effect upon the wary general, who received his commands respectfully, wrote a civil answer to Thurloe's smooth letter, and took all the care he could to secure his command in Scotland, till he saw what turn things in England would take; it having been his opinion, that, if Oliver had lived much longer, he would have been shaken in his seat.

The succeeding troubles in England, therefore, were very far from surprising him; on the contrary, they were precisely what he looked for and expected; and it was very easy to foresee, that, in consequence of them, some attempts might be made to restore the king. It would be beside the design of this treatise; it would require much more room than we have to spare; and, after all, it would be in a great measure needless, considering what has been already written on the subject, for us to enter minutely into the intrigues that were used, while General Monk was in Scotland, to bring him into that interest,* we shall content ourselves, therefore, with saying, that he acted in this matter with the utmost prudence and circumspection; so that what the earl of Clarendon and Bishop Burnet have suggested, that he was a man of slow parts and slender abilities, ought to be considered rather as the effect of their prejudices, than of the general's conduct.*

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* The curious reader may consult the life of Dean Barwick, wherein he will find the best accounts that were ever published of this matter; and yet the earl of Clarendon says nothing of the services of this Dr. John Barwick, though no man was better acquainted with them than himself; which shews, that there

The truth is, they were both out of this secret; that is to say, the former had no hand in it, and the latter never so much as heard of it; which was reason enough for them to write as they did. The general's council consisted chiefly of ladies. He corresponded in England with the Lady Saville; he managed all Scotland by the assistance of the countess of Buccleugh, and consulted much, in regard to his personal conduct, with his wife, a woman of quick parts, and a thorough royalist. He had, besides, some confidents, who will appear to posterity more worthy of the trust he reposed in them, for having never boasted of the assistance they gave him, as others did, who afforded him much less. Among the first, I reckon his wife's brother, Dr. Clarges, Colonel Cloberry, and General Morgan; amongst the latter, his chaplains Price and Gumble, with many others.†

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are some things in which that history is not altogether to be depended on.

* It is clear from what Lord Clarendon says, that he was altogether unacquainted with the general's intentions, and could only collect his design from his manner of acting. His reservedness, therefore, to so haughty a man, might well enough induce him to speak so coldly as he does of the general's performances. Yet he does not pretend to enter deeply into his character, as Burnet does, who must know much less of it, and that only from conversation in a court where Monk's patriotism, and severity of morals, had left him few friends, and created him many enemies.

† The capital secret of the restoration was, the general's forming the design of it, which he did in Scotland, and, by the assistance of the countess of Buccleugh, drew all the loyal nobility to confide in him; a thing of which Bishop Burnet knew nothing, though it was, in truth, the great spring of the affair, and the

In the management of all great undertakings, the surest signs of a true genius is, the disposition of its several parts. This shews the first mover; this marks the ruling character, and that superiority of skill and conduct which denominates a man truly wise and great. Let us see, then, what it was Monk was to overthrow, what to establish, and what force he had to do it with. He was to change a settlement, new indeed in itself, but, in appearance, so much the stronger, having all the authority in the three kingdoms, a veteran army of upwards of thirty thousand men in England and Ireland, and a victorious fleet on its side. He was to restore a lost cause, in the opinion of its best friends; a cause which he durst not so much as own; a cause against which himself had done much, and the troops he commanded more; all which he was to do with a body of between five and six thousand men, which were so far from being better troops than those they were to oppose, that, in reality, they were not their equals. Yet, with the blessing of God, he performed what he proposed, he triumphed over all these difficulties, and he did this by a just distribution of the several parts of his scheme, any one of which, had it been omitted or misplaced, had ruined the whole.

He secured Scotland behind him, raised a sufficient sum of money to put the first springs in motion, and excited such a spirit in his army, as fitted it for the present work. Next, he took care to stir the humours in the body-politic, to rouze and animate all the parties in the nation, that they might move, act, and shew, their humours and their strength. He set up Fairfax against Lambert, and broke his veteran army by shewing them their old general. He made use of honest Dr. Price to feed the royalists with hopes, while his own actions could give them none.

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clearest proof, that the general acted sincerely and uniformly through the whole expedition.

By the talkative Mr. Gumble, he wrought upon the commonwealth's men: by gracious and yet general answers, he kept himself well with all parties, without declaring for any. He prevailed with the parliament to part with a better army than his own, merely from the opinion of his being their best friend: when he came to London, he shewed himself the very best of their servants, by obsequiously performing the dirtiest of their work, and, proving them thereby to be the worst of masters, he paved the way for ousting them of their authority. Thus he went beyond them in their own arts, outstripped them in cunning, and having the city and the country, as well as the fleet and the army, on his side, he gave law to those who had been so long dictators.

By recalling the secluded members, he, of a rump, made them a house, and, by their own consent, fairly dissolved that long parliament, which might, otherwise, have been everlasting. After doing all this, he did still more: he refused the kingdom, when it was offered him by the distracted republicans, to keep it from its right owner; and then our old enemies, the French, would have lent him their assistance to have hindered the return of a monarch, who they foresaw, unless they misled him, must be the first in Europe; and this they did as politicians, though that monarch was a grandson of France. But Monk generously despised a diadem to which he had no right, and, with equal greatness of mind, refused to make any terms with him to whom it belonged* He saw the folly of cobbling constitutions, and pretending to take power from one set of men to give it to another: he chose, therefore, like a wise and honest man, to fix things upon their old bottom, and to leave the king's power, and the people's freedom, to be discussed in the only assembly that could have a right to meddle with them.

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* Mr. Locke, on the credit of the earl of Shaftsbury, has published a very strange story in relation to the conduct of this great man, as if he had agreed with the French ambassador to take upon him the government; which story is reported at large by Echard, in his history. But this, as it is incredible in its nature, so it is improbable in its circumstances, and supported by no authority in the world but that of a vain man, who was desirous of taking the merit of the restoration to himself.

Thus was the restoration begun, prosecuted, and perfected, by Monk; who received, as favours from the king, his titles, preferments, and fortune; all which, to be sure, he might have had in another way. And yet this is the man whom almost all our histories treat as having only second-rate parts, acting as he was prompted by men of brisker tempers, and invited by favourable occasions; as a horrid dissembler, though he refused to take the engagement, and was never concerned in the war against Charles I.; as an avaricious all-grasping person, though it is confessed that he asked NOTHING from his sovereign, to whom he gave ALL; as a man utterly unfit for business, who yet had shewn himself a great captain in Ireland, an excellent governor in Scotland, and a profound statesman in England, not to mention his reputation as an admiral, acquired by humbling Holland; but it is one thing to merit a character, and another to purchase it. The latter was not Monk's talent: he provided for his relations and friends, but he was no encourager of flatterers; and being a bad courtier, he was seldom called for after the restoration, but when he was necessary; and this happening pretty often, leads us to the rest of his history; in which we shall still find him appear with honour, and perform the duties required of him with success.

The command of the army was continued to the duke of Albemarle, as long as there was, properly speaking, an army to command: he was, likewise, made master of the horse, and one of the king's bedchamber. Bishop Burnet, as also the noble historian, have said abundance of invidious things of him; and this will make it necessary to shew how false they are, and how little credit is due to their insinuations against this great man's character. The former says he was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature; and adds, that he soon lost all personal regard, by becoming useless. When he was created a duke,* the king settled seven thousand pounds a-year on him, though one hundred thousand pounds a-year had been proposed before the restoration took place. When he was called up by writ to the House of Lords, he was attended by almost the whole House of Commons to the door: a very unusual mark of respect, which could only be due to extraordinary merit, and must have flowed from their sense of it. Various plots were framed immediately after the king's return; and, in all these, the duke of Albemarle's life was particularly aimed at: this seems to be a strong proof of his consequence; and, if we were to demand another, we cannot desire a better than what all the histories of those times tell us; *viz.* that these insurrections were chiefly suppressed by his activity, at the head of his own faithful regiment. His success, in this respect, gave him an opportunity of deserving as much from the nation by his patriotism, as ever he did from the king by his loyalty. It was suggested in council, that these tumults shewed how little use could be made of trained-bands; and, therefore, that it was fit a part of the army should be kept up. The duke said, "this could not be done without giving the people a jealousy of the king; and that the best way to gain their affections was, to rely upon them." I leave the reader to judge, with what decency this man could be said to forfeit all personal regard, and to become in a short time useless.

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* His elevation to the peerage was so acceptable to that august body, that, upon notice given of it to the house by the lord chancellor, they ordered the lord great chamberlain of England, and the Lord Berkeley, to wait upon his Majesty to return him their thanks for the honours he had been pleased to confer upon the duke of Albemarle. Journals of the House of Lords.

But the bishop is not content with barely characterizing this noble person; he charges him with three glaring crimes, which, as they relate to the most eminent actions of his life, we shall briefly consider. The first is, the murder of the marquis of Argyle. This nobleman was questioned, before the parliament of Scotland, for concurring with the late rebellious powers: he pleaded, that he complied with them only, and made a very strong defence; but the bishop says, that Monk having several letters of his, which fully shewed that his inclinations, as well as his actions, were with the prevailing party, he sent these down, which were read in parliament; and, by this breach of private friendship, he brought the marquis to the block.

Now, to this I say, that the fact cannot be true, for many reasons. I shall mention only a few. 1. The marquis, in his defence, complains, that he was surprised into being present at Oliver's proclamation, as protector, by General Monk's sending for him to the council, without letting him know what was to be done. Would he have complained of this, and have passed by the letters: or would not this complaint have been ridiculous, if there had been any such letters? 2. The marquis died with an appeal to God for the sincerity of his defence, and wrote a letter to the king, affirming the same thing, a copy of which I have seen.* Would so wise a man as the marquis certainly was, have done this, if, as Burnet says, his own letters had made the thing so plain, that his friends had nothing to say? 3. This does not at all agree with Monk's character. He was an advocate for mercy to the regicides in the House of Lords; he was silent on the bench at the Old Bailey, when commissioned to try them; and, which is much more to the purpose, he saved Sir Arthur Haslerig's life and estate, the bitterest personal enemy he had in the world, by owning a promise to him, which some say he never made. This seems to shew him of no betraying spirit. 4. There was no occasion for Argyle to write any such letters, for Monk never was in England after Oliver became protector: and it is hard to understand, why the marquis should apply to him in Scotland, when he could so easily have had an audience of Cromwell in London, where he often was. 5. The thing is now out of all doubt; for, by the publication of Thurloe's papers, it appears that Monk never considered the marquis in this light, but always represented him as a secret friend to the king, and an active enemy to the protector's government.*

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* By the favour of his nephew, the Honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell. In this letter the marquis insists on his loyalty in very high terms; and, indeed, there is all the reason in the world to believe he never meant any thing more, in his proceedings in Scotland, than to restrain the power of the crown within due bounds.

The second imputation on the duke of Albemarle's conduct is, his recommending the match with Portugal The points insisted on are, 1. That the first motion came from General Monk, who constantly promoted this marriage; 2. That the chancellor had incontestible intelligence of the infanta's incapacity of having children; 3. That upon this he warmly and passionately opposed it in a cabinet council, which he prevailed on the king to call upon this subject.

It is admitted, that this proposition might possibly be made by the Portuguese ambassador to the duke of Albemarle, before the king's actual return to his dominions, and that he proposed it to his Majesty, as a measure proper for extending the trade, and increasing the influence of his subjects abroad. It is likewise true, that his grace thought the acquisition of Tangiers a very considerable thing; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider that, in Cromwell's time, there was a project of getting it into our possession. If, therefore, the duke of Albemarle was for this match from right motives, and with a view to the interest of his king and country, as it is plain he was, it is very hard to arraign his behaviour upon consequences, which, it is certain, he could not foresee, and very probably had never considered.

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* See the correspondences of Argyle and Monk, in the iiid. ivth. and vth. volumes of Thurloe's State Papers; and thence it will plainly appear, that there was no harmony between them, and consequently no ground to suppose, that the marquis would lay himself open to him by his letters.

Besides, another queen might have been childless as well as Catharine, and have brought the nation no advantage at all; whereas it is certain, that our close conjunction with Portugal has been very beneficial to us as a trading people, and that our acquisitions of Bombay and Tangiers became useless, or at least inconsiderable, intirely through our own fault, from, the perpetual struggle of factions amongst us, which have been always our greatest misfortune; and, therefore, to attribute these to the conduct of Monk, or to condemn him for advising a treaty of marriage, which was thoroughly canvassed in, and approved by the parliament, is as unreasonable as it is unjust.*

Thus the thing stood in the first edition of this work; but we are now in a condition to clear up all difficulties, from the authority of the noble person, in the needless justification of whose character, that of the duke of Albemarle has been unjustly aspersed.† We are assured by him, that the first overture, in relation to the infanta of Portugal, was made to his Majesty by the lord-chamberlain, that is, the earl of Manchester; and it seems, from the beginning, was well received. The king next consulted with the chancellor himself, and afterwards with a private committee, of which the duke of Albemarle was no member.* There that business came to such maturity, that the Conde de Mello, the Portuguese minister was sent home, in order to bring with him those securities and assurances that were necessary to the conclusion of the treaty. It was during his absence, that an opposition was set on foot by Baron Batteville, or, as his countrymen the Fleming's call him, Baron Watteville, the Spanish minister, and his friend the earl of Bristol, who prevailed upon the king to give him a commission to go in search of a princess worthy the king's bed, to some of the courts of Italy. Upon the return of the Portuguese minister, with the title of Marquis de Sande, the negociation was renewed; and the Spanish minister, who had been imprudent enough to publish aspersions on the infanta of Portugal, in the English language, and even to throw them out of his window amongst the guards, was ordered to quit the kingdom. The matter was then laid before the whole privy council, where, without doubt, the duke of Albemarle was present; and then it was unanimously approved. This unanimity so much pleased the king, that he took notice of it as a good omen, in his speech from the throne, at the opening of the next sessions of parliament, and was congratulated upon it by both houses. Hence it is evident, that the duke of Albemarle had no particular concern in this business; that the chancellor was very early consulted; that he considered the insinuation to the prejudice of the infanta, as an invention of the Spanish minister, and was so far from protesting against this marriage, that he promoted it; and, whatever calumny might afterwards suggest, promoted it, no doubt, from very just and laudable motives.

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* This matter was warmly, and, as most people thought, fully discussed in three quarto pamphlets by the ingenious Lord Lansdown, the indefatigable Mr. Oldmixon, and the learned Dr. Colebatch of Trinity College in Cambridge, all of which I perused attentively, that I might do no injustice to any.

† Earl of Clarendon's Life, p. 78, of the folio edition.

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* This committee was composed of the chancellor, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Manchester, and Secretary Nicholas; and therein his Majesty declared, he had consulted the earl of Sandwich, and Sir John Lawson, as to the situation and importance of Tangiers.

The last point to which we are to speak, regards the sale of Dunkirk, in which the bishop assures us,* that the censure thrown upon the lord-chancellor Clarendon was unjust, since he relied entirely upon the sentiments of Monk. In this he does not, however, go so far as another writer; who affirms, that the chancellor and the treasurer protested against it; which, he says, is a point that may be cleared by inspecting the council-books.† Echard seems to lay the blame upon the earl of Sandwich, and is also positive, that the chancellor and treasurer were the two ministers who opposed the measure. Monsieur D'Estrades, the French plenipotentiary, who transacted this important affair, on the part of his master, and who, in his letters to Louis XIV. at the time, gives a very distinct and particular account of what happened through the whole of the negociation, set things in a very different light. He produces a letter from the chancellor, dated June 29, 1662, delivered to him by Mr. Beling,‡ who was to explain to him that noble person's intention, the king and his lordship having both written, two days before, to invite him to take England in his way to Holland, where he was then going ambassador. Upon his arrival, he was informed, that the motive of desiring his presence was, to enter into a treaty for the sale of Dunkirk. He says expressly, that the chancellor told him, that the king's necessities obliged him to this step; that he was the only person of the council in that sentiment: that he was to bring over Monk the treasurer, and the earl of Sandwich, which he could not hope to do, if a round sum was not offered.* The French king, in a letter to D'Estrades, expresses great uneasiness at the secret's being communicated to the other lords. At length, when the treaty was advanced, the king of England, on the first of September, gave full powers, under his hand, to the chancellor, the treasurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, to proceed therein, and to conclude it. It was signed, accordingly, on the 27th of October, 1662, by the commissioners on both sides; and, in a letter dated November 6, Count D'Estrades tells the king, his master, that King Charles, the duke of York, and the chancellor, were the only persons from whom he had met with no opposition; and, in consequence of this, and much more to the same purpose, that monarch wrote a letter to his brother of England, and another to the chancellor, to thank them for their obliging conduct in that affair.

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* In all altercations of this sort, it is but just to let men speak for themselves. In the History of his own Times, vol. i. the bishop says, "The matter under debate was, whether this place [Dunkirk] ought to be kept or sold. The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by France, said, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the king to a great charge, and in time of war, it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The earl of Clarendon said, he understood not those matters, but appealed to Monk's judgment, who did positively advise letting it go for the money that France offered.—So it was sold; and all the money that was paid for it, was immediately squandered away amongst the mistress's creatures." The facts are, 1. That the military men acted as if corrupted by France. 2. The Chancellor Clarendon was passive, relying on Monk's opinion. 3. His opinion was positive, to let it go for what France offered. 4. Upon his advice it was sold. 5. And the money squandered amongst the countess of Castlemain's creatures.

† Coke's Detection of the four last Reigns, book iv. and upon his authority Bishop Kennet relies; Complete History of England, vol. iii. See, also, his own account of the sale of Dunkirk, and by whom charged upon Clarendon.

‡ This Mr. Beling, though a Papist, was in great confidence

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with chancellor Clarendon, acted as interpreter between him and Count D'Estrades, was in the whole secret of this negociation, and for this was recommended by his minister, to Louis XIV. for a present which he received.

* An incautious writer might cite this as a proof out of the chancellor's own mouth, that he alone was the author of this measure, and not either the general, the treasurer, or the earl of Sandwich. But, though the chancellor might say so, it was not true, at least if we believe his own account, but was thrown out partly to force D'Estrades to make a greater offer. The chancellor did not want address, but D'Estrades had more.

The chancellor himself, who best knew his own thoughts, and who could certainly give the clearest account of his own actions, places the whole of this affair in another point of view.* He ascribes the original motion for the sale of Dunkirk, to the French king, to the lord high treasurer Southampton; and, upon his communicating it to the chancellor, he expressed himself very warmly against the proposition. He next informs us, that a cabinet-council was called, at which his Majesty, the duke of York; the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, were present, as well as himself and the treasurer, at whose request this meeting was appointed, and who humorously advised his Majesty to take away the chancellor's staff, for fear he should make a rough use of it when he knew the subject they were met upon. In this cabinet council the sale of Dunkirk was debated, and resolved for the reasons which the chancellor mentions in his memoirs.† This was previously to the inviting over D'Estrades, who had been in England, and treated with the chancellor upon affairs of state before, and had so far recommended himself to the king and the chancellor, as he was indeed a minister of great address, that they were both desirous of treating with him again. What the chancellor said to D'Estrades, was to engage him to raise his price; for he at first talked only of two millions, because that was the sum at which it had been valued by Cromwell, as has been mentioned in another place; however, he was afterwards brought to offer three millions, and at last to add two millions more for the artillery, ammunition, military stores, and the materials for building; which sum, it appears, that all the commissioners, except the chancellor, thought too little, and upon that account concluded the bargain with reluctance. This drew an immediate odium upon the chancellor. His bitterest enemy, the earl of Bristol, put it the next year into his accusation against him ; the people called the house he was building Dunkirk House; and it was mentioned afresh in the articles that were framed against him, by the House of Commons, upon his disgrace.

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* The earl of Clarendon wrote a vindication of his own conduct against the accusation of the House of Commons, dated at Montpelier, July 24, 1668. This may be found in his tracts, and his account of this transaction. See also his Memoirs.

† The reasons are inserted also in the vindication, and in effect were these: 1. That the place, being no harbour, was of little utility; 2. That the charge of keeping it was more than the crown could afford; 3. That the keeping it would necessarily involve the nation in a war.

The discussing this matter having led me so far, I think myself obliged to go a little farther, that I may not seem to have exculpated the duke of Albemarle at the expense of other counsellors, who, in my conscience, I think as innocent as he. The true state then of the matter, at least to me, appears, to have been this. The revenue settled upon the king, in customs ,excise, and hearth-money, amounted to one million two hundred thousand pounds, and the constant stated expense of the king's government to upwards of one million four hundred thousand pounds, though that of his household came but to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. There was, consequently, a deficiency of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds a-year.[†] The weight of this, as the chancellor well observes, being chiefly felt by the treasurer, suggested to him the enquiry into the utility and worth of Dunkirk; and finding, or believing he had found, good reasons for the parting with it, he was

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[*] So the Count D'Estrades says expressly, and complains extremely of the trouble given him, in wording the treaty, by the other commissioners, and commending highly the assiduity of the chancellor, though he knew it rendered him obnoxious.

[†] This would have been the case, if the funds, given by parliament had actually produced what they were given for; whereas they fell short no less than three hundred thousand pounds.

thereby led to make the proposal, as it would take away one half of the annual exceeding, and, at the same time furnish the king with a large sum of money, of which he was then in the greatest want. This measure seems to have been taken about a year after the king's restoration; and, we may be sure, was taken without any sinister or iniquitous views, since it came from the great and good earl of Southampton, whose character was never yet aspersed*. It has, indeed, been said, that the king was moved to it chiefly out of consideration for certain ladies; and, perhaps, when this comes to be explained, there will not appear to be any great harm in that: for these ladies were, the queen his mother, the queen his consort, and the Princess Henrietta Maria his sister, who was to be married to the duke of Orleans, and for whom a portion was to be provided out of this money†.

If the reader is desirous of knowing how this came to be afterwards considered in so foul a light, and why so much pains had been taken to shift the odium from one minister upon another, it will be necessary to observe, that, at the time of the transaction, there were no very loud complaints, but they grew up afterwards from a variety of causes. 1. The cabal formed against the earl of Clarendon represented this as a base and corrupt measure, because they were pleased to style it his measure: and every minister that is to be removed by a faction, must first be placed in the blackest light*. 2. The Spanish party joined themselves to these: they did not consider whether the measure was right or wrong, as it regarded England; but they knew that it was injurious to Spain, and therefore they heartily joined in decrying the minister, to whose account it was placed†. 3. The French court, though at the time the bargain was made they had pretended a perfect indifference, whether Dunkirk was delivered up to Spain, annexed to the crown of England, or demolished, yet, after they were once possessed of it, they magnified its importance, and the great policy of their monarch in procuring it‡. 4. The Dunkirk that was thus sold, was by no means the Dunkirk that it afterwards was: Louis XIV. spent many millions sterling in improving and fortifying it; not because the place deserved it, but that it was the only port by which he could annoy us. 5. After it was thus improved and fortified, all those inconveniences taken away which made it useless in our hands, and a multitude of works raised, for which England would never have been at the expence; it became such a thorn in our sides, and we were made so thoroughly sensible of its importance, in the situation it then stood, that it is no wonder at all posterity believed whatever they were told, of the iniquity of selling this place, and heartily detested the ministers, whoever they were, by whom the measure was taken; though certainly they did not, indeed could not, perceive the consequences.

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* The king, at the instance of General Monk, made Sir Edward Harley governor of Dunkirk immediately after his return, and would have constituted him governor for life, consequently, he had then no thoughts of selling it: when he had, he removed him by warrant, dated May 22, 1661.

† Upon reviewing this evidence, it appears, 1. That the French king was displeased at the negociations being communicated to the military men, and consequently had not corrupted them. 2. The chancellor managed the whole transaction, brought it to bear, and for this had the thanks of the French king. 3. Monk was not satisfied with the price, or privy to the sale, till the price was settled. 4. Upon the treasurer's proposal the design of selling Dunkirk was taken up, carried on, and concluded, not by Monk, but the chancellor. 5. The money was carefully expended, and not squandered. Clarendon's Life, p. 205.

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* See the earl of Clarendon's vindication against the eleventh article of the charge against him by the House of Commons. Coke, Kennet, Echard, Burnet as before cited. Sir Thomas Osborne, who was afterwards duke of Leeds, affirmed, on the authority of a great lord whom he did not name, that the chancellor made a bargain for the sale of Dunkirk nine months before it was known. See Chandler's debates of the House of Commons, vol. 1. p. 108.

† It appears evidently from D'Estrades's Letters, and indeed from all the authentic papers of that time, that the chancellor was pushed by the Spanish party, who had the earl of Bristol at their head, a man of great parts, and who was particularly able in intrigue.

‡ As much indifference as the French king expressed about the place, while the negociation was depending, he vaunted sufficiently the advantage accruing to him from the bargain, as soon as it was made. His troops took possession November 28, 1662. He made his public entry, and caused Te Deum to be sung in his presence on the 2d of December. He caused two medals to be instantly struck. On the reverse of the first was, *Providentia principis Dunquerka recuperata;* i. e. "By the skill of the Prince Dunkirk recovered:" on the reverse of the second (a jetton or counter) a brazen tower with a golden shower falling on it with these words; *Sic vincit amicos;* i. e. "Thus we get the better of our friends." As if this had not been insulting enough, a third

But, however, the state of the king's affairs, the difficulty and expence of keeping the place, and the impossibility of foreseeing then what afterwards happened, taking in also the known characters of the persons concerned; may excuse them from any suspicion of corruption, or ill intention in this transaction: yet the sale of Dunkirk to the French is a thing never to be vindicated. For it was not acquired by the king's arms; and, therefore, whatever right he might have to restore, it is not easy to discern how he could have any to sell it. In the next place, the House of Commons had prepared and passed a bill for annexing it to the crown of Enlgand, which would have thrown the charge of maintaining it upon them: and though it is true, that the motive to this bill has been misrepresented, by supposing it was meant to hinder what afterwards happened, whereas, in fact, it took its rise from the Spanish ambassador's demanding it, in a peremptory manner; yet, assuredly, it shewed that the sense of the nation was for preserving it. Lastly, the merchants, even at the time it

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was struck the next year, with the brazen tower and golden shower again, with this legend; *Ictu fulmineo potentior;* i. e. "By a stroke surpassing thunder:" on the reverse, Justice menacing two harpies with her sword, and these words; *Harpyas pellere regno.* See Gerard. Van Loon Hist. Metallique, tome ii.

was sold, expressed great apprehensions of the mischiefs that might be done to trade, by privateers fitted out from thence: and these were reasons sufficient to have deterred the king, and his ministers, from parting with it, unless by consent of parliament; which, if we consider what afterwards happened in regard to Tangiers, it will not appear impossible that they might have obtained; and, whether they could or not, they ought at least to have desired.

When the first Dutch war broke out in 1664, we find the duke of Albemarle's name among the lords of the council subscribing the proclamation: and there seems to be no reason to doubt, that he was very hearty in that measure; whereas the chancellor, and the treasurer, were both extremely against it. The duke of York, as we have before seen, at the commencement of the war, commanded the fleet in person: and, upon this occasion, he devolved the whole administration of the admiralty on the duke of Albemarle; and this with such circumstances of confidence, as evidently demonstrated his sense of his grace's capacity and fidelity*. This, added to all his former employments, might have sufficiently marked the confidence reposed in him, and have even rendered the conferring on him any other charge, a thing not at all expected: and, yet, when the plague broke out in the succeeding year, and the king saw himself obliged to leave his capital, he entrusted the care of it, of his subjects, and the chief concerns of his kingdom, to this good duke, who resided at the Cock-pit near Whitehall, and, with the assistance of the earl of Craven, and some other public-spirited persons of distinction, took care of the health, the properties, and the government of the inhabitants of this great city; distributing daily the vast charities that were raised for the supply of the distressed: giving audience to all who had any business with him, directing the affairs of the navy, while we were engaged in a war of such consequence, and giving a constant account of whatever happened to the king and his ministers at Oxford. Such was the courage, such were the labours, of this great man, who, in the midst of devouring infection, did, in a manner, the whole business of the nation; and yet this is he who is said to have forfeited all personal regard, and to have become useless in a short time after the restoration.

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* This epistle deserves the reader's perusal, because it is a direct proof of the falsehood of the assertion, that the duke of Albemarle lost his credit soon after the restoration. It runs thus: "My lord duke of Albemarle, having formerly by the king's approbation desired you to take the care of giving all necessary orders for the affairs of the navy during my absence, in the same manner as I ought to do if present, I should not now need to repeat it to you, were it not to acquaint you, that I have not only by word of mouth, but also by writing, given the principal officers and commanders of his Majesty's navy directions to execute all your commands. I desire you, if you find any commanders or other officers negligent in the dispatch expected from them for his Majesty's service, not to be sparing in using your authority for their punishment, whether by displacing them, or such other way as you shall think fit. I have commanded my secretary to leave with you all such things as may be necessary for your information; if any thing be wanting, upon the least intimation it shall be supplied. So bidding you heartily farewell, I am, &c.

"March 22, 1664-5. JAMES."

This letter was transcribed from a MS. in the hands of the late Lord Frederick Howard.

While he was still charged with all these fatiguing offices, the king, in the spring of the succeeding year, sent for him suddenly to Oxford. He went thither post; and on his arrival, after paying his compliments to his Majesty, and giving him a succinct account of the posture in which he had left affairs at London, he was told, that the intent of sending for him thither was, to make him joint admiral of the fleet with Prince Rupert; and that he must immediately prepare to go to sea. He desired a day's time to consider of it; in which space he consulted with his friends, who were almost unanimously against his accepting that command. They said, that he had already established his character as a soldier, seaman, and statesman; and that it was unreasonable, at his time of life, for him to stake all the honours he had won on the fortune of a day: that the Dutch were already driven into that fury which made them most dangerous at sea; and that attacking them now was quite another thing than it was at the beginning of the war: that, in short, the loss of a battle would exceedingly tarnish his reputation; whereas a victory gained could add very little thereto.

The Duke thanked them for the respect they had shewn for his person and character, but at the same time added, " these were out of the case; that he valued neither farther than they were useful to his country; and that he was determined to obey the king's commands, since he was sure he either should accomplish them, or die in the attempt." Having accepted this commission, he returned to London the third day; and though the war and the plague had both made great havock among the seamen, yet it was no sooner known, that the duke of Albemarle was to command the fleet, than great numbers offered themselves to the service, because, as they phrased it, they were sure, " honest George" (for so they called the duke) " would see them well fed, and justly paid."

His grace, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, used such diligence in equipping the fleet, that on the 23d of April, being St. George's day, they took leave of the king, and fell down the river in one of the royal barges to join the fleet. When they arrived in the Downs, the king received intelligence, that the French had fitted out a stout squadron to join with the navy of the States; upon which he was prevailed upon to send down positive orders to Prince Rupert to sail, with twenty of the best frigates in the fleet, to fight the French squadron before it could join the Dutch. This, without question, had been a right measure, if the king's intelligence had been well founded; but, as in truth there was no such French squadron, so the taking away so great a part of the fleet exposed the remainder exceedingly. Some have suggested, that there was treachery in this; and indeed, from Sir John Harman's letter, giving an account of the battle which ensued, one would apprehend, that he was of this opinion. It is, however, easy to account for the thing otherwise; and, by laying all circumstances together, I must own myself persuaded, that this intelligence proceeded from the arts of the French, who, by pretending to equip a great squadron, and to send it early to sea, thought to amuse both us and the Dutch, and engage us, by dint of these preparations, to take false measures, in which they succeeded; for the Dutch fleet actually expected to be joined by them, as certainly as Prince Rupert did to meet them.

The duke of Albemarle, commanding now alone, discovered, on the 1st of June, the Dutch fleet, consisting of about seventy-six sail of large ships; whereas his grace had not more than fifty. We have already given an account of this battle, and shall here, therefore, confine ourselves to such circumstances as concern the duke's personal behaviour. He immediately called a council of war, composed of some of the most gallant men that ever bore commands in the English navy; and there, "In regard several good ships, besides the Royal Sovereign, then at anchor in the Gun-fleet (neither fully manned nor ready), would, upon their retreat, be in danger of a surprisal by the enemy, and that such a course might make some impression upon the spirit and courage of the seamen, who had not been accustomed to decline fighting with the Dutch, it was at last unanimously resolved to abide them, and that the fleet should presently be put in readiness to fall into a line." Thus it appears, that this was an act done by the whole council of war, and upon very rational motives; so that to charge the duke with running too great a hazard, from his contempt of the Dutch, is treating his memory ill, without any just grounds*. The first day the enemy gained little or no advantage, notwithstanding their great superiority; this was intirely owing to the duke's example, who, though he was once obliged to be towed out of the line, yet, after making the necessary repairs in his rigging, bore into the centre of the Dutch fleet, where he engaged De Ruyter with incredible fury, hoping that his own success might have opened a path to victory.

The next morning the duke called a second council of war, in which he delivered himself thus: "If we had dreaded the number of our enemies, we should have fled yesterday; but, though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the enemy feel, that, though our fleet be divided, our spirit is intire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own element, than to be made spectacles to the Dutch. To be overcome is the fortune of war, but to fly is the fashion of cowards. Let us teach the world, that Englishmen had rather be acquainted with death than with fear.

The engagement began about eight, and continued till it was night; but our fleet suffered so much, that in a council of war, held in the afternoon, it was resolved to make a fair retreat, which the duke performed the next day with great prudence and honour. In the evening of that day, Prince Rupert with his squadron came in; and the duke's fleet endeavouring to join it, the Royal Prince, commanded by Sir George Ayscue, ran a-ground, and was burnt by the enemy. Before night, however, the English fleets joined; and then it was unanimously resolved in a council of war, that it would be injurious to his Majesty's honour, and the reputation of the British fleet, to suffer the Dutch to return with any appearance of an advantage, and that, therefore, they should attack them the next day as early as possible, which was accordingly done, when the duke, notwithstanding his hard service in the three former engagements, passed, in conjunction with the prince, five times through the enemy's fleet, and had, in all probability, beat them at last, if, by an unlucky accident, the prince's ship had not been disabled, and soon after, the duke's, also, which, however, did not hinder their firing upon the Dutch till it was dark.

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* Bishop Burnet says, that the English fleet, by the end of the fight, was quite unrigged, and were in no condition to work themselves off; so that they must have been all taken, sunk, or burnt, if Prince Rupert had not come in good time.—The court gave out that it was a victory, and public thanksgivings were ordered; which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had, in one respect, reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole fleet. History of his own times, vol. i. p. 377, 378. This account is visibly false; for if the Dutch could have destroyed our whole fleet, and were forced to sheer off without doing it, this was a victory, the enemy's purpose being defeated. But the Dutch admiral owned the fact to be otherwise, and that the duke with the English fleet (before Prince Rupert's arrival) were aggressors, to the last.

Two days after, the fleet returned to our own coast, and the prince and duke to London. On the report of this extraordinary action, many took the liberty, as his friends foresaw they would, to censure the duke of Albemarle's conduct; but the king, having thoroughly examined the matter, declared himself fully satisfied with his behaviour: adding, that it was grounded upon reason and necessity; and that the honour of the nation was deeply concerned in it: that he had thereby given the greatest instance of his own, and of the English valour; and had raised the reputation of our naval force to such a height of glory as would render it for ever terrible to its enemies, as well as relied on and respected by its friends.

The Dutch fleet, having suffered less, was again very soon at sea; but they had not been long upon our coast, before, to their amazement, the English fleet came out of the Thames, and then they stood over to their own. On the 24th of July, both fleets were in sight of each other; and the next day, by six in the morning, a bloody battle began, wherein the English gained a clear and complete victory, and the Dutch were driven into their ports. Upon this there followed the burning of the town of Brandaris, as our people called it, by Sir Robert Holmes; where the enemy's loss, as Mr. Echard tells us, on the authority of a good MS. in the paper-office, fell very little short of a million sterling. This was the last great action performed at sea by the duke of Albemarle.

On his return, he found the city of London lying in ashes; a misfortune which, however, redounded to his reputation; since the people said openly in the streets, as he passed, that " if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt:" which is such an extravagant mark of veneration and affection for his person, as could arise only from their perfect satisfaction in regard to what he had formerly performed: and it must also add much to his character, in the opinion of all true judges of merit, that he was recalled from the command of the fleet by his Majesty, purely to quiet the minds of the people upon this misfortune.

In the spring of the year 1667, the king had some new advices given him, in regard to the management of his navy, which were by no means approved by the duke of Albemarle. The drift of them was this: that, as the Dutch were chiefly supported by trade, as the supply of their navy depended upon trade, and, as experience shewed, nothing provoked the people so much as injuring their trade; his Majesty should therefore apply himself to this, which would effectually humble them, at the same time that it would less exhaust us, than fitting out such mighty fleets as had hitherto kept the sea every summer.

Sir John Lawson was particularly fond of this doctrine, which, by degrees, grew acceptable to the king; not so much from a persuasion of its being just and reasonable, as from a sense that it suited with his own condition; the vast expences of his court rendering it very difficult to raise such sums as were requisite to keep up the navy. Besides, there was a peace then pending, and the king had the strongest assurances given him from the French court, that the Dutch would fit out no fleet that summer; and, upon these motives, the king took a fatal resolution of laying up his great ships, and keeping only a few frigates on the cruize.

The De Wittes, who had perfect intelligence of all that passed here, and who, perhaps, wanted not some friends to propound such destructive measures as were then pursued, immediately availed themselves of this opportunity; and, having first amused the king with an attempt in Scotland, grounded on their resentment, as it was said, for the injuries done their trade by privateers from thence; they, in the midst of summer, came with a formidable fleet, piloted by our own traitors, into the mouth of the Thames, and on Thursday the 11th of June, 1667, appeared before Chatham. In this trying circumstance, the most dishonourable to the English nation that perhaps ever happened in any reign, the duke of Albemarle was immediately thought of as the fittest person to raise the spirits of the people by his presence, and to defeat the enemy's designs by his conduct. He did all, and even more than could be expected from him, to frustrate the scheme of the De Wittes; but such a panic had struck the people, and such a want of capacity was visible in those who had the direction of the king's yards, that his orders were very indifferently obeyed.

He caused, however, several ships to be sunk in the narrow passage by the Mussel-Bank, and took such other precautions as were of much service; and had he been well seconded, there is the greatest reason in the world to believe the Dutch had reaped no great credit from this undertaking; at least, this was the opinion of the parliament, who highly approved the duke's conduct; and, on the narrative he presented them in relation to this affair, they impeached Commissioner Pett, relying implicitly, as to facts, on the credit of what his grace was pleased to tell them: so that it was a just observation, and, at the same time, a well-turned panegyric, of a learned prelate, Dr. Ward, bishop of Salisbury, when he said, of the duke's behaviour in this unlucky business, " That even where the issue of the whole matter was not very prosperous, God was pleased to order his part so, that he came off with immortal honour and reputation."

After the Dutch war was over, and the king much inclined to do his people a pleasure, he thought fit, on the decease of the earl of Southampton, to put the treasury into commission: yet, that it might not be surmised the public was in any danger from the loss of so great and so good a man as the treasurer was universally allowed to be, the duke of Albemarle was put at the head of that commission: and this was the last mark of royal favour of the kind which he received; for losing his health suddenly, he chose to retire from public business, and to spend the remainder of his time in waiting for that dissolution which appeared to be at no great distance.

Yet, having some relief from his distemper, which was a dropsy, by the assistance of Dr. Sermon, of Bristol, and, when he relapsed again, continuing long in a declining way, he still shewed much loyalty to the king, and a very warm affection for his country. Many visits he received from his Majesty and the duke of York in his last sickness, whom he always entertained with strong and plain, but, at the same time, decent discourses on the impossibility of supporting the royal authority any other way than by pursuing the true interest of the nation. He was, likewise, attended by the most considerable persons in both houses of parliament, whom he exhorted to maintain, in their legislative capacities, a good correspondence with the crown and with each other. This, he said, was the only way to serve the people: for, if once the passions of private men, or, which was the same thing in another dress, the particular interest of parties came to influence their debates, the public would reap no good fruits from them. With the same presence of mind he regulated the private concerns of his family, causing his only son to be married to the daughter of Lord Ogle, in his chamber, on the 30th of December 1669; and, on the 3d of January following, he quietly yielded up his breath, sitting in his chair, when he had lived near threescore and two years.*

After speaking of him so fully in his public, it may not be amiss to say something of so great a man in his private capacity, the temper of his mind, and his abilities, natural and acquired. As to his person, he was a strong well-built man, of a good presence, and very able to endure fatigue. The advantages which he derived from nature were much strengthened by his manner of living. He was always an early riser; his private devotions, and whatever domestic concerns he had to manage, being constantly attended to, and dispatched by seven o'clock, when he gave audience, without distinction, to all who desired it, and constantly made an end, if it were in his power, of every poor man's business on the spot. He was an enemy to all oppression in the army, and used frequently to say, that his officers should have power to command and to protect, but not to terrify or pillage the soldiers. He was a strict observer of discipline, of which he gave a signal instance at the end of the first Dutch war in Cromwell's time. The seamen came to the navy-office in crowds to demand their prize-money: he told them, that there were fifteen hundred ships to be sold, and that, as soon as they were sold, they should have their money, with which they seemed to be satisfied; but, in the afternoon, there came four or five thousand of them armed towards Whitehall, which Monk hearing, met them at Charing-cross in company with Cromwell and some other officers, where, without much expostulation, he drew his sword, and wounded several of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his word, who never broke it; which had such an effect upon them, that, forgetting their former fury, they tamely retired, and were afterwards very honestly paid.

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* Lord Arlington, in his letter to Sir William Temple, dated January 7, 1670, says, " The gazette will tell you of the loss we have had of my lord-general, and the resentment his Majesty hath of it. I pray God we may not need the wishing him alive again."

He was extremely moderate in his way of living, eating but one meal a-day, and that homely and heartily. He despised and hated drinking; and, having settled his affections on the woman he married, was a tender and constant husband through the course of his life. As a father, he shewed more of passion than in any part of his character, for, on the loss of his second son, George, in Scotland, he gave way to his grief to such a degree as surprised all who were acquainted with the firmness of his temper in other respects. His valour was very singular, for he was fierce without losing his temper, and had an extraordinary measure of patience, joined with boundless courage: and these qualities he possessed as much as ever, even in the decline of life. In the second Dutch war a chainshot took away his breeches, yet he never altered his countenance or his place.* In the Chatham business, apprehending the Dutch would land, he exposed himself in the midst of their cannon-shot, that his example might keep others to their duty, and defeat the design of the enemy, as it did: and when a person of distinction expostulated with him on this head, and would have persuaded him to retire, he answered, very coolly, "Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago."

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* The duke of Buckinghamshire gives us a much stronger proof of his resolution, on his own knowledge; for he says the duke of Albemarle declared, at the beginning of the action, that he was sure of one thing, *viz.* that he would not be taken; and that he

His capital virtues were, prudence and modesty: the former enabled him to perform the great things which he did, and the latter restrained him from ever valuing himself on the great things he had done. He was equally dear to the king and to the nation; and it was his peculiar felicity, that he had the affection of both without incurring the jealousy of either. He would have retired immediately after the restoration, if his country could have spared him; and when he saw it could not, he served it as cheerfully as before. He served it—in how many capacities? He commanded the army in chief, when the king and the nation's safety depended upon that command. He was put at the head of a commission for managing the treasury, or rather settling it. His activity was necessary for suppressing all insurrections; his presence was thought requisite in the highest courts of justice. If he was intrusted by the king with the army, he was likewise intrusted by the duke with the fleet. He had the care of the city when visited with the plague; the command of the navy when we made war with France and Holland at the same time. He was sent for to recover the minds of the citizens, after the fire; he was sent to meet the threatening invasion of the Dutch; and, as he made way for the Treasurer Southampton, so, on his death, he was thought the only man that could replace him. Well, then, might

saw him charge a little pocket-pistol with powder, which his grace believed he would have fired into the powder-room, in case the Dutch had boarded him. See his Memoirs, prefixed to his works.

Secretary Nicholas, that able and faithful servant of the crown, say, and he said it when the duke had done a few only of these great things, "That, independently of his merit in the restoration, the duke of Albemarle, by his indefatigable zeal, and successful services afterwards, had merited more than his prince could do for him." Such was the man whom his master was not ashamed to call his FATHER; because, indeed, he was the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.*

When his son went to wait upon the king with the ensigns of the order of the garter, his Majesty was pleased to restore them to him; the king likewise directed the duke's body to be removed to Somerset-house, where it lay, for many weeks, in state; and, on the last day of April, was removed, with great funeral pomp, to Westminster-abbey, and there interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel.† Yet, as if his fame had stood in need of no such support, a monument was neglected; only those who have the care of the place preserve his figure in wax, and think it sufficient to raise the admiration of every loyal spectator, to say, "This is General MONK!"

He left behind him an only son, Christopher duke of Albemarle, to whom both King Charles and King James shewed great respect. It must be confessed that he had not his father's abilities either in the cabinet or in the field; but he was a generous good-natured man, and lessened considerably the very large estate that was left him, by indulging pleasures which

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[*] "Lives English and Foreign." It was said of him, after his decease, by the king, that the duke of Albemarle never over-valued the services of General Monk. What those services were, appears in the preambles to the patents of the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Bath, where the restoration is ascribed to them by the king himself.

[†] It may, perhaps, deserve the reader's notice, if we remark, that his grace John, duke of Marlborough, then Ensign Churchill, attended at this funeral, and is the last person mentioned in the London Gazette, which describes that solemnity.

his father despised: yet he had many good qualities, and particularly that of sheltering and encouraging merit in distress. He gave a singular instance of this in supporting Captain Phipps, afterwards Sir William Phipps, and governor of New England. He came over to make a proposal for fishing on a wreck on the coast of Hispaniola, and made the design appear so highly probable, and, at the same time, so practicable, that King Charles the Second granted him a ship called the Algier Rose, and furnished him with whatever was thought necessary for the undertaking; which, however, failed of success, and Captain Phipps returned as poor and as positive as ever.

He endeavoured to obtain from King James II., who, by this time, was on the throne, another ship; but to no purpose; afterwards he set on foot a proposal for making it a private adventure, for which he was, at first, laughed at, till the duke of Albemarle engaged in the design, and advanced a considerable sum of money towards fitting him out. He quickly completed the rest, and, in the year 1687, sailed in the Bridgewater Merchant, a ship of two hundred tons, on the same scheme, proposing to make an equal distribution of the profits on twenty shares, into which the expence of the undertaking was divided.

He was more lucky in his second enterprise, though not till his patience was almost worn out; and afterwards prosecuted his design with such success, that, in a short space, he returned to England with three hundred thousand pounds in silver. On his arrival, there wanted not some who would have persuaded the king to seize his ship and cargo, under pretence that Captain Phipps had not given an exact information, when he applied for his license and the royal assistance; but his Majesty generously answered, that he knew the captain to be an honest man, and a man of honour; and that, if he had brought home twice as much treasure, his proprietors should divide it. His Majesty farther expressed his satisfaction, by knight-ing him. The duke of Albemarle had, for his share, ninety thousand pounds, and Sir William, about twenty thousand pounds.*

This piece of good fortune is thought to have engaged the duke of Albemarle to ask King James for the government of Jamaica; which he obtained: but, if it was with a view to reap farther advantages from that or other wrecks, he was disappointed; for, whether it was that the treasure was exhausted, or that the ship being broken up, the sea by degrees dissipated its contents, certain it is, that nothing of consequence could afterwards be obtained from that wreck. His grace's free way of living, especially in regard to the bottle, rendered that a very unfit climate for him to live in; and, therefore, we need not wonder that he did not long enjoy his government, but died in the year following, without issue; and so this noble family became extinct.

ADMIRAL MONTAGUE,

AFTERWARDS EARL OF SANDWICH, AND KNIGHT OF THE GARTER.

FAME belongs, of right, to all those who have deserved well of society; but the supreme degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of such illustrious persons as have been martyrs for their country, and voluntarily died, either to serve or to preserve it. If this be a just position, as must be allowed by every man who thinks, then the noble person whose memoirs are at present to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by Britons. His life was an uniform scene of patriotism and public spirit; his death so extraordinary a strain of exalted courage, that, as few facts in modern history come near it, so none in more ancient and less corrupted times can be justly said to exceed it.

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* There was, on this occasion, a fine medallion struck, with the faces of the king and queen on one side, with their titles; and, on the reverse, a ship at anchor, and the boats fishing on the wreck: the inscription, *Semper tibi pendeat hamus;* the sense is, "Always watch, you'll something catch:" the exergue, "*Naufragia reparata; i. e.* "The shipwreck repaired." The duke of Albemarle, to shew his sense of Sir William's integrity, gave Lady Phipps a cup of gold, worth a thousand pounds.

To speak of the antiquity or nobility of this family would be an idle waste of words; the very name of Montague is sufficient to inform every intelligent reader of all that I could say on that subject.

Mr. Edward Montague was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague of Boughton. He was born July 27, 1625, and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, came very early into the world and into business; especially if we consider the times in which he lived, and the qualities necessary for men to be distinguished in them.

He married, when little above seventeen, the daughter of Mr. Crewe, afterwards Lord Crewe, of Stene; and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the parliament than his father, Sir Sidney Montague, was, who had been expelled his seat for refusing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of Essex, and giving such a reason for it as it was easier to punish than answer,* received a commission, dated August 20, 1643, to raise and command a regiment under the earl before mentioned. This Colonel Montague, though but eighteen, performed; and, the interest of his family being very extensive, he took the field in six weeks.

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* He told the Speaker, "he would not swear to live with that nobleman, because he was an old man, and might die before him; nor would he swear to die with him, since the earl was going with an army against the king, which he did not know how to free from treason, and therefore could not tell what end that great man might come to." Warwick's Memoirs. The parliament's expelling this gentleman merely for declaring his sentiments, is complained of in one of the king's declarations as a most arbitrary proceeding. Clarendon's History.

He was present at the storming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions in the course of that lamentable war. He was likewise in the battle of Marston-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; insomuch that soon after, when the city of York demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles; which must have been the pure effects of personal merit, since he was then but in his nineteenth year. We find him the next in the battle of Naseby; and, in the month of July, 1645, he stormed the town of Bridgewater. In September he commanded a brigade in the storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable service; and, on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the articles of the capitulation granted to Prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament; the news of which, in conjunction with Colonel Hammond, he was appointed to carry; for which a thanksgiving was ordered.

But, after all this warm service in the army, at an age when few people have seen any, he shewed no inclination to make the sword the supreme power; but when, by the artifices of their leaders, the soldiers declared against the parliament, and, in June 1647, impeached eleven of its most worthy members, he forbore going to the house, where, when chosen, he sat as knight for Huntingdonshire. His acquaintance, however, with Cromwell; the court paid him by that artful man, and his own generous unsuspecting temper, drew him to accept a seat at the Board of Treasury, and into a share of the transactions in those times, with which he was very much dissatisfied upon reflection. After the Dutch war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with Blake, in his expedition into the Mediterranean.

Admiral Montague found abundance of difficulties to struggle with, at the very entrance on this affair; many of the officers being displeased with the service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few, influenced by their scruples, insisted on laying down their commissions. He managed this intricate business with great prudence and dexterity, so as to shew a due and steady regard to discipline, without, however, running into any acts of severity: and this had a very happy effect; since, by that time he came to sail, the fleet was pretty well settled, and the officers, in general, disposed to act in obedience to orders."

In the spring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himself and his colleague, Blake, meditated many great things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but, after attentively considering the port, it was resolved, in a council of war, that such an attempt was impracticable. Then Gibraltar was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in case it could be reduced. Admiral Montague, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe, gave his judgment of this project with great sagacity. According to his sentiments, the only method of taking that fortress was, to land a body of forces on the isthmus, and thereby cut off the communication of the town with the main; and, in this situation, to make a brisk attempt upon the place. Yet, as a proof of the fallibility of human understanding, we find, in this very letter, a proposal for sending five thousand land-forces, on account of the hasty disposition of the seamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual service on shore. When this place, however, long after, was actually taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the sailors, and to that impetuosity in particular which Admiral Montague imagined would be a hindrance in any enterprise of this kind.

When cruizing before Cadiz appeared to be of no great advantage, the fleet stood over to the opposite shore of Barbary, in order to repress the insolence of the Tripoli and Sallee rovers, which was found no very easy task; and, therefore, Admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his desire, that we should have some good port in Africa, which he believed might answer various ends, and especially conduce to the preservation and augmentation of our trade in the Levant. Hence, I suppose, grew the first notion of getting Tangiers into our hands, of which, a year or two after, there was great discourse, as well as of the benefits that would redound to the nation from the possessing it; and this, in all probability, might recommend the Portugal match so much to the favour of the earl of Manchester, who, it is likely, depended therein on the judgment of Admiral Montague. At this time, however, we find our admiral more inclined to take that or some other place from the Portuguese by force; for he entertained a very bad opinion of their sincerity, though, at last, the terror of the English fleet compelled them to make such a composition as satisfied the protector, and disappointed Montague in his favourite design of attacking their Brazil fleet.

The warmth he expressed in the discharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade by the carrying on the Spanish war, of which he gives a fair and clear account in one of his dispatches to the secretary, wherein he complains, that he saw the Dutch, Hamburghers, and Genoese, carrying on a mighty trade with Spain, which, as he observes, it was impossible for them to hinder, without engaging the state in a war with all the world, and, therefore, proposed, that a squadron of light frigates only might be kept in those seas, and that the fleet should be employed somewhere else to more advantage.

However, the protector's orders being positive, they returned towards autumn into the road of Cadiz, where, in September following, Captain Stayner made prize of the galleons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, Admiral Montague sent into England as soon as they were taken; and, when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, desiring at the same time, that some persons might be sent down to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, in order to take charge of the silver, and to make a farther search into the contents of the galleons.*

The money thus taken from the Spaniards, was, though undeservedly, the most popular act in all Cromwell's administration, and, therefore, the utmost pains were taken to give the populace a very high idea of this advantage. The silver was carried in open carts, and ammunition waggons, through Southwark, to the Tower of London; and, to make a shew of entire confidence in the people, these waggons had no greater guard than ten soldiers. As for Admiral Montague, he had all the compliments paid him, upon this occasion, that it was possible for him to desire; the protector caressed him exceedingly; the parliament, as we have elsewhere observed, returned him thanks by their speaker, and some other honours he had received, if with industry he had not declined them.

In 1657, he was appointed to command the fleet in the Downs, and went, accordingly, on board it in the latter end of the month of July. The design of this fleet was, to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and facilitate the enterprise on Dunkirk; and in all these he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of the Marshal De Turenne, where he had a conference with him, in order to determine the properest method of carrying on the war, and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the Channel till the beginning of winter. All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with the protector, and to have had the strictest intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral entertained serious thoughts of retiring from public business. What the reason of this was, cannot at this distance of time, be certainly recovered, but in all probability, the sense he had of the strange service he was put upon in assisting the French, and distressing the trade of all the rest of the world, made him uneasy. One thing is remarkable, that, how much soever he disliked the orders that were sent him, he executed them with the utmost punctuality; so that the Dutch, whose ships he searched for silver, made a heavy complaint against him.

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* This letter is directed to Secretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the Naseby, at sea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it, he says, "There have been some miscarriages by the ships, that did take the ships of Spain; but I shall delay to tell of them here; and I judge the best way to improve mercies of this kind is, to look forward: however, that is my business at this time. The silver they brought, is on board this ship, and the vice-admiral; in the admiral, we have five hundred and fifty sous of silver, and boxes of plate, and nine pieces of silver not well refined, like sugar-loaves. In the vice-admiral there is a hundred and twenty-four sous of silver, all which we judge may produce nearly two hundred thousand pounds: I hope I speak the least, and that it will make much more. In the galleons' holds, also, there is that space between the main-mast and the bulk-head of the bread-room, not yet rummaged." Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 509.

We may likewise gather, from his letters to Cromwell, and the instructions he received, that he was not a little embarrassed about the protector's future designs; and yet it is plain enough, that Richard desired the admiral should rather regulate things by his own discretion, than be able to justify himself, in respect to his conduct, from the letter of his orders. This particularly appears in the business of the flag; upon which that protector wrote him an epistle with his own hand, commanding, in express terms, that he should insist upon the honour of the flag from all nations, within the limits of the British seas, and yet telling him as expressly, that he knew not what those limits were; adding, at the same time, that he was to execute these orders with caution, since peace and war depended on them.

After the death of Oliver, and the setting up of Richard, Admiral Montague was fixed upon to command the great fleet sent to the north, which, as it was in itself the wisest and best measure entered upon in those times, so this fleet was beyond comparison the most considerable that had been fitted out since the Dutch war; and, therefore, I think myself obliged to give a short account of it. The Naseby, on board which the admiral hoisted his flag, carried seventy guns and six hundred men; the Resolution had the like number of men, and eighty guns; there were fourteen ships carrying each fifty pieces of cannon and upwards, twenty-eight forty gun ships, or near it, four of thirty guns, besides twelve smaller vessels, carrying from twenty-two to twenty-eight pieces of cannon; in all sixty ships, and on board them eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty men.

The admiral went on board in the spring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral, Opdam, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to send so strong a fleet into the Baltic, and that his instructions were, not to respect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace.

Before the admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which left him no real power, but obliged him to act in conjunction with their commissioners, Colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon; and at the same time they took an occasion to shew they had no great kindness for him, by giving away his regiment of horse; so that we may suppose he left England in none of the warmest dispositions for their service. When he arrived in the Sound, he took his share with other ministers in negociation, and made it sufficiently evident, that he had a genius as capable of shining in the cabinet, as of commanding at sea or on shore. While he was thus employed, King Charles, being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and strict conjunction with the protector's family, thought this a proper time to make a trial of his affections, and therefore sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and the other from Chancellor Hyde, to be delivered to him, if possible, without the privity of his colleagues.

The scheme was rational, and well laid, but the messenger very indifferently chosen. He was one whose loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in those perilous times when wise men kept it close in their hearts; and it was with some difficulty that the admiral preserved him from suffering by his indiscretion. Yet these letters, and the persuasions of a near relation of his, who undertook to state the merits of the royal cause fairly, had such an effect on Admiral Montague's mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, and returned with all that warmth and sincerity incident to great minds, conscious of former failings. The service the king expected from him was sailing speedily back to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other persons of distinction, who were disposed to hazard their lives for the service of their country; on weighing which proposal, Mr. Montague found it so plausible, that he resolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution, conceiving that, if this opportunity were missed, another equally promising might not quickly happen.

Colonel Algernon Sidney was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration: he soon discerned some change in Mr. Montague's conduct, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he missed very little of coming at his whole secret. The admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and close speech, in which he shewed them plainly the little hope there was of doing any thing for the honour of England, by remaining where they were; that to fight they had no authority, and if they were to remain neuter, they might as well sail home. He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his and their native country of the great struggles between the army and the parliament, whence he took occasion to hint, that themselves had a great stake there, and that, if a new government was to be settled, some respect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with saying, that he readily submitted his sentiments to a free debate, and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing must be noted, provisions were already become scarce, it was very difficult to obtain supplies; and, therefore, if they resolved to stay, they must resolve also to live at short allowance.

The question was soon decided; and, in consequence of the council's opinion, Admiral Montague weighed immediately, and sailed to England. On his arrival he found things in a very unexpected and disagreeable situation; Sir George Booth close prisoner in the Tower, the parliament restored to their authority, and a warm charge against himself come to hand from Colonel Sidney. Immediately on his arrival he set out for London, attended the parliament, and gave there an account of his conduct with so much wisdom and eloquence, that even such as disliked it knew not what to object, and were therefore very well satisfied with dismissing him from his command, to which Lawson was appointed, a rigid Anabaptist, and one in whom they had the greatest confidence.

After such an escape, Mr. Montague withdrew to his own estate, with a design to enjoy, in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life: this made him concern himself very little, if at all, in the following public transactions before Monk's coming into England. After this, when that general shewed a desire that Admiral Montague should be restored to his command, he sent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he sent his Majesty a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force. He likewise desired to know, whether the king had any assurance of the general; but was, at the same time so cautious, as to desire that no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations stood.

On his coming on board the fleet, he found things strangely altered; for Lawson, from whom he expected most opposition, was become as ready to serve the king as himself: upon which he laid by all reserve; and, as soon as he received his Majesty's letter, directed to himself and General Monk, he sailed with the fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three ships to attend the parliamentary commissioners. This was a very warm testimony of his affection for the king's service, and as such was received by his Majesty: but when it was observed, that the commissioners looked upon it as a mark of disrespect, the king was pleased to cover Mr. Montague, by sending him an order that was antedated. Soon after, he had the honour to convoy his Majesty to England, who, within two days from his landing at Dover, sent Sir Edward Walker, garter king at arms, to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribband and George of the most noble order of the garter, which he presented him on the 28th of May, in the morning, in his ship then riding in the Downs.

Among the honours conferred on such as had been particularly instrumental in restoring his Majesty to his just rights, our admiral had his share; and by letters patent, dated the 12th July, 1660, he was created Baron Montague of St. Neot's, in the county of Huntingdon, viscount Hinchinbrooke, in the same county, and earl of Sandwich in Kent, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council, made master of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow seas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord high-admiral of England. At his Majesty's coronation his lordship carried St. Edward's staff, and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal ministers, as well as the person chiefly intrusted with the care of the fleet. He constantly attended the council, when any transactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate, and always gave his opinion like a good subject and a true patriot. When the marriage with the infanta was concluded, he brought her Majesty over, and performed other services, as has been already mentioned.

His lordship has been aspersed for joining, as is surmised, with the duke of Albemarle, in the project for giving up Dunkirk to the French. I have already examined this affair so fully, that I shall say but little of it here, and only as it relates to this noble person. The thing was proposed but by halves at the council; and, at first, the strength and importance of the place was only canvassed: upon which the earl of Sandwich, who knew it as well as any man, said, that the coast of Dunkirk was generally so tempestuous, and the ground so rolling, upon every storm, that there never could be any certain steerage to the port. This was the truth, and nothing more; yet was the earl far from proposing that it should be put into the hands of the French, though he judged it to be too expensive for his master to keep; and therefore he declared for demolishing it. How this proposition came to be rejected, I cannot say; but it is plain, that though the earl of Sandwich did not set a higher value upon Dunkirk, than, in the condition it was then, the place deserved; yet he never desired to see it fall into the hands of the French, as has been very falsely, and, I very much suspect, maliciously asserted.

When the Dutch war began, in 1664, the earl of Sandwich went heartily into the measure, as conceiving it for the honour and interest of England; and when the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high-admiral, his lordship commanded the blue squadron; and, by his industry and care, abundance of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their Bourdeaux fleet. In the great battle fought on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein the Dutch lost their admiral, Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed, a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the conduct of the earl of Sandwich; who, about noon, fell with the blue squadron into the centre of the enemy's fleet, and thereby began that confusion, which ended soon after in a plain fight. Most of our historians agree, that if this victory had been properly pursued, the Dutch fleet would have been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage is, as I have elsewhere observed, by some, without just grounds, charged on the duke of York. On the return of the English navy, his Majesty, at the request of the queen-mother, declared the duke should not expose his person again on board the fleet; but that the command of it should be left to the earl of Sandwich; who was ordered to employ his utmost diligence to put it, as speedily as possible, in a condition to return to the Dutch coast; which he accordingly performed.

The earl of Sandwich sailed on the 5th of July with sixty men of war to the coast of Holland, wearing the royal standard of England, and having under him several of the bravest seamen that, perhaps, ever bore the English flags. Finding the Dutch fleet not at sea, and having information that both the East India and Smyrna fleets were to return north about, he resolved to steer for the coast of Norway, in hopes of meeting with them: nor was this a difficult thing, since it was soon after known, that they had taken shelter in the port of Berghen. We have already given some account of this action, but reserved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs, the rather, because the attempt on the Dutch fleet in the harbour of Berghen was the occasion of our war with Denmark, which some have ventured to charge on the earl of Sandwich, as brought about by his ill management; whereas, in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour, as we shall shew in few words, because our naval historians are very unaccountably silent on this head.

Sir Gilbert Talbot was then envoy at the court of the king of Denmark; and he, finding a disposition in that prince to fill his coffers at the expence of the Dutch, proposed to him, as the most effectual way of doing it, seizing on their fleets in his harbour, which would indemnify him for all the losses he complained of, and bring into his treasury many millions of dollars. The king of Denmark readily embraced the project, and insisted only on one objection, which was, his own want of force to execute it. Sir Gilbert immediately answered this by saying, that he did not doubt but the king of England would furnish him with a fleet sufficient to make prize of all the Dutch ships, on condition that the profit of the enterprise should be divided between them; to which his Danish majesty very readily assented.* This proposal, being transmitted to the English court, was as willingly closed with, and advice thereof sent to the earl of Sandwich. As this was a transaction very little to the king of Denmark's honour, so he insisted upon it, that the agreement should not be put into writing: and this nicety it was that spoiled the whole affair; for, when the earl of Sandwich had intelligence of De Ruyter's being retired with the East India fleet into Berghen, he resolved not to slip so fair an opportunity, but to sail thither with the utmost expedition. He sent, however, Mr. Worden, a gentleman of distinction, to Sir Gilbert Talbot, to inform him, that he was determined not to lose the opportunity of attacking the Dutch fleet, and therefore desired that he would send him a distinct account of the nature of the king of Denmark's engagements, that he might the better know what he was doing. Sir Gilbert took some pains to comply with this request, but by various unlucky accidents they were all frustrated, and the earl of Sandwich arrived in those seas, without hearing any thing from the envoy.

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* "A true and perfect Narrative of the late secret Negociation in Denmark, by Sir Gilbert Talbot, MS." This piece was in the hands both of Bishop Burnet and Mr. Echard, who have made use of it in their histories. I have likewise consulted another piece, published by authority, intitled, "A true Deduction of all the Transactions between his Majesty of Great Britain and the King of Denmark," which differs, in many respects, from Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation.

Sir Thomas Tyddiman, being sent with a stout squadron to block up the port of Berghen, appeared before it on the first of August, 1665. The first thing he did was, to send a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the design, and to inquire what orders he had. To this, the governor answered, that as yet he had none, but that he expected them by the post in two or three days, and, therefore, desired the English would desist from making any attempt for that time. The same evening, however, the castle fired upon the English fleet, and did some mischief; and the Dutch were suffered by the governor to bring seventy pieces of cannon on shore to fortify their line. Admiral Tyddiman perceiving this, immediately called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers, who, after a full and free debate, resolved to lose no time, but to attack the Dutch fleet the next morning; and this for three reasons: 1. Because the Danish governor had not given them any direct answer, or promised them any sort of favour or assistance. 2. If the Dutch had farther time given them to fortify themselves, an attempt might become impracticable. 3. That the grand Dutch fleet was now at sea, and might probably come to their relief, before the Danish governor would acknowledge his receiving orders.

This resolution taken, Sir Thomas Tyddiman gave all his captains strict charge, that they should not fire against the castles or ports, and should also be very careful to direct all their shot low at the hulls of the Dutch ships, to prevent, as far as they could, any damage happening to the town that lay behind the ships; both which orders all the seamen did unanimously agree were performed, according as, in the several conferences with the governor, those directions were promised to be given. The dispute continued till near eight of the clock, during which time, it is true, the castle hung out a white flag, but to what intent, the English could not guess; for the seamen, whose station was nearest to it, agreed also in this point, that the castle never left firing from some quarter or other. They were led to imagine from thence, that the Dutchmen, who might have been taken in for the strengthening the castle, had fired against the general's orders during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were, at least, three hundred of them there.

The greatest mischief that the English received, was from the artillery in the castle, which, by accidental shots, cut some hawsers that kept the first line together: and so, to avoid falling foul one of another, they were forced from their stations, and, when they were out of the reach of the Dutch guns, the fort upon the outmost point on the starboard side played upon them afresh, the guns of which the English had once silenced during the engagement; but, being remounted, they, in their going off, had many of their men killed by them: notwithstanding which, the English came that day to anchor within the rocks of Norway, five leagues distant from Berghen, having no pilots that could shew them anchoring hold nearer for so many ships together.

While the English were repairing their ships, the Danish governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negociation, affirming, that now he had received his master's orders, and was content to afford them what assistance he could. But, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to trust to these promises;* and, therefore, on the last of August, the earl sailed with the rest of his fleet towards the coast of Holland; but, suffering much by a storm, his ships were forced back again to the northward; and, on the fourth of September, he met with four Dutch East Indiamen, and several other of their merchant-ships under a good convoy; and, though the stormy weather favoured their escape, yet he took eight men of war, two of their richest East India ships, and twenty sail of their merchantmen. On the ninth also, a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen sail of the enemy, the greatest part of which they took, with four men of war, and above a thousand prisoners.

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* "True Deduction of the Transactions between his Majesty of Great Britain, &c." It must be allowed, that these facts are contradicted by the MS. account of Sir Gilbert Talbot, to which both Echard and Burnet have adhered, and, consequently, lay all the blame on Sir Thomas Tyddiman and the earl of Sandwich. But, besides the Deduction's being a public paper, owned by King Charles II. and, consequently, more authentic than Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation, there is in the former, a copy of the governor's letter, which flatly contradicts the substance of the same letter given in Sir Gilbert's account, which I take to be, at bottom, rather an apology for his own conduct. The truth seems to be, that the earl of Sandwich considered this whole negociation as a dishonourable thing; and, indeed, it is very apparent, that if no respect at all had been had to this agreement, but the English had attacked the enemy's fleet without giving them time to fortify themselves, the whole, or at least, the greatest part, must have been either sunk or taken.

On his return, the earl was received by the king with distinguished marks of favour; but his royal highness's conduct in the great engagement on the third of June being much censured, and the king declaring the duke of York should go no more to sea, as the earl's behaviour in the same action had been much applauded, lest his continuance in the sole command of the fleet might be interpreted to the disadvantage of the duke, and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embassy to be sent into that kingdom, his Majesty dispatched the earl of Sandwich to the court of Madrid to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. This negociation was a work of equal difficulty and importance: we had many things to ask from Spain in favour of trade, and there was nothing to which the Spaniards were less inclined than to make peace with Portugal, and, in order to that, to own it for an independent kingdom. The earl of Sandwich, however, managed his business with such address, that he concluded a most advantageous treaty for us with the court of Spain, consisting of forty articles, and this, too, in a surprisingly short space of time, if we consider the nature of Spanish negociations; for his lordship arrived at Madrid on the 28th of May, 1666, and the treaty was signed the 13th of May, 1667.

His lordship applied himself next to the other part of his commission, and, by insisting principally on the interests of Spain, and making it evident that the continuance of the Portugal war would be the total ruin of their affairs, and that a peace might be made without the least prejudice to their honour, at that juncture, he so far prevailed as to gain the queen of Spain's consent, that a treaty should be set on foot under the mediation of the crown of Great Britain. The great and unusual confidence reposed in him upon this occasion, was managed with such dexterity by the earl of Sandwich, that, in three weeks after his arrival at Lisbon, he concluded a peace between the two nations to their mutual satisfaction. This treaty was signed the 13th of February, 1668; and, as it was extremely advantageous to the Portuguese (who, considering the distracted state of their government, had very little reason to expect so fortunate an event), it was no less honourable in the mediation to the crown of Great Britain.

Upon the conclusion of these treaties, the earl of Sandwich was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands, and his great services acknowledged in such terms as they most certainly deserved; which letters do no less honour to the memory of the princes who wrote them, than his to whom they were written. Many of the dispatches, penned by his lordship in this embassy, have been made public, and remain so many indelible marks of his wisdom, integrity, and public spirit. They serve also to shew how unnecessary a qualification cunning is in a public minister; for they are written with a plainness that cannot be counterfeited, and manifest in their composition a strength of genius capable of carrying its point, by setting truth in a strong as well as proper light, without the assistance of any of those little arts, which are so much, and so undeservedly, admired in modern politicians.

As he was too quick-sighted to be deceived, he had too much candour to impose on any with whom he transacted business; and, when this temper of his became thoroughly known, he was able to do all things in Spain: for, being well-informed of the nobility of his birth, and his great actions at sea, and, having themselves received repeated proofs of his strict regard to honour, they readily believed every thing he said, and willingly assented to whatever he proposed. After the conclusion of the treaty with Portugal, he returned again to Madrid, where he spent some time in settling affairs, and confirming that court in the opinion, that Britain was its most useful and natural ally, and, then taking his leave, arrived September

19, 1668, at Portsmouth. On his return to court, he was received with all imaginable testimonies of respect by the king and duke, who were equally solicitous in fixing him to a good opinion of those measures upon which they were then entering.

The intercourse with our colonies by this time was become very considerable; and, growing daily more and more advantageous to the nation, his Majesty was graciously pleased to erect a council for inspecting matters relating to trade, and for the special encouragement of the plantations. As this was in itself a very popular act, so King Charles, who knew as well as any prince the art of pleasing his subjects, when he thought fit to practise it, judged it convenient to put at the head of this new council a man as acceptable in his character, as the project was in its nature; and this determined him to the choice of the earl of Sandwich, who, August 3, 1670, was sworn president of the council of plantations; and, in that quality, he swore in the duke of York, Prince Rupert, the duke of Buckingham, and other persons of the highest quality, who were declared members thereof. In this capacity, as well as in that of vice-admiral and privy-councillor, he gave no small disturbance to the CABAL: for, in the first place, he was a sincere and zealous Protestant; next, he was a true Englishman, loyal to his prince, but steady in the cause of his country, an enemy alike to faction, and to every thing that looked like arbitrary power. He was, besides, for regarding no qualification but merit in the preferments of the navy, declaring, upon all occasions, against shewing favour to the relations of peers, or other persons of distinction to the prejudice of such as had served longer or better. This rendered him the darling of the fleet, who, after the death of the duke of Albemarle, looked upon him as their father and protector; which, however, gained him a great many enemies amongst such as could not bear the thwarting of their private interests, though for the sake of the public good. The secret histories of those times, to which I must own I do not always give credit, insinuate, that his royal highness the duke of York was displeased with him: but, however that might be, it is very certain, that the king had always a just sense of the earl of Sandwich's services, and shewed him upon every occasion, as much favour and esteem as he did to any of his subjects.

On the breaking out of the third and last Dutch war, his lordship went to sea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue squadron, the French admiral, Count D'Estrees, commanding the white. The fleet was at sea in the beginning of the month of May, and towards the end of that month, came to an anchor in Southwold-bay, in order to take in water. We are told, that, on the 27th, which was Whitmonday, there was great merry-making on board the fleet, and many officers and seamen were permitted to go on shore, and were at Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. Things being in this situation, and the weather withal very hazy, the earl of Sandwich delivered it as his opinion, at a council held in the evening, that, the wind standing as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being surprised by the Dutch, and, therefore, he thought it advisable to weigh anchor, and get out to sea: to this the duke of York, it is said, made such an answer as seemed to hint, that the earl spoke out of fear; which insinuation, if really made, was certainly both barbarous and unjust. I cannot say who it was that first reported this story; but of this we may be positive, that, in the way in which it is reported by a certain author, it could not possibly be true.* Several very judicious persons have inclined to think, that it was framed long after the transaction, in order to heighten some circumstances which we shall presently relate.

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* This author is Bishop Burnet, who, in the History of his own Times, says, " I say nothing of the sea-fight in Solbay, in which De Ruyter had the glory of surprising the English fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the usual disorders of the 29th of May;

On the 28th of May, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the Dutch; upon which his royal highness made the signal for weighing anchor, and getting out to sea; and, the occasion being of so pressing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The blue squadron, however, was out first, and in good order, the red next, and the white in its proper station, much a-stern. The earl of Sandwich, in his fine ship the Royal James, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon and about eight hundred men, began the fight, and fell furiously on the squadron of Van Ghent: this he did, not from a principle of distinguishing himself by an act of heroic valour; for he knew his character was too well established to need

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which he prevented, by engaging them on the 28th."—It is an odd whim of this prelate, that, because people might be disposed to be drunk on the 29th, they should be out of their wits on the 28th. Now the truth of the matter was, that the feasting happened on the 27th, because it was the Monday in Whitsun-week; but some people have a great mind to set a black mark upon the 29th of May, and on the character of General Monk for the same reason. Yet let us once more hear his lordship:—" The admiral of the blue squadron was burnt by a fire-ship, after a long engagement with a Dutch ship, much inferior to him in strength. In it the earl of Sandwich perished, with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage, to which he was provoked by an innocent reflection the duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing near the shore, and avoiding an engagement; as if in that he took more care of himself than of the king's honour." We have seen above, that the earl's advice was, to put to sea, that they might engage the sooner, and not be surprised. The Dutch gazette treated the earl's memory better than this bishop; for in it we find, " The earl of Sandwich engaged for several hours with many of our men of war, disabled seven of our ships, among which, was Lieutenant-admiral Van Ghent's, Vice-admiral Van Nesse's, and Captain Brakel's; and, after putting off three fire-ships, was, at last, burnt by the fourth."

that; his view was, to give the rest of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain Brakel, in the Great Holland, a sixty-gun ship, depending on the assistance of his squadron, attacked the Royal James, but was soon disabled, as were several other men of war; and three fire-ships were sunk. By this time most of his men were killed, and the hull of the Royal James so pierced with shot, that it was impossible to carry her off.

In this distress he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral, Sir Joseph Jordan, if that gentleman had not been more solicitous about assisting the duke: when, therefore, he saw him sail by, heedless of the condition in which he lay, he said to those who were about him, "There is nothing left for us now, but to defend the ship to the last man;" and those who knew him readily understood, that, by the last man, he meant himself. When a fourth fire-ship had grappled him, he begged his captain, Sir Richard Haddock, and all his servants, to get into the boat and save themselves; which they did: yet some of the sailors would not quit the admiral, but stayed and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in spite of all their efforts, they could not do; and so they perished together, the ship blowing up about noon. The Dutch writers give a different account of this matter: they say, that the earl and one of his sons were smothered in the long-boat, by the crew jumping in upon them; which cannot be true, since the genuine cause of the earl's remaining on board was, his apprehension that he might be taken in the long-boat, and made a spectacle to the Dutch; the same thought which occurred to the duke of Albemarle, and determined him, in case no other way was left, to blow up his ship and himself.

Such as ascribe this resolution to the resentment of what his royal highness had said the evening before, asperse one great man's character in order to tarnish another's. It is a strange pleasure that some malevolent people take, in attributing the noblest actions to the worst motives, and always presuming that to be the spring of a man's conduct, which seems least fit to be so. In this case, from the temper of the person and the circumstances attending his death, there is the highest reason in the world to presume, that he sacrificed himself from a principle of public spirit. Why, then, should we be so inhuman as to fancy he did it from private pique? The ancient Romans would have had nobler notions: they would have said, he devoted himself for his country, and merited, by his manner of dying, the victory which ensued.

His lordship's body was found, nearly a fortnight afterwards; and the king testified, by the honours he paid to the corpse, how much he admired the man, how sensible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the dust of his ancestors, the remains of such as died gloriously in their country's service. The fact stands thus in the Gazette:

Harwich, June 10.

"This day the body of the right honourable Edward earl of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, discovered floating on the sea, by one of his Majesty's ketches, was taken up and brought into this port; where Sir Charles Littleton, the governor, receiving it, took immediate care for its embalming and honourable disposing, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known concerning it; for the obtaining of which, his Majesty was attended, at Whitehall, the next day, by the master of the said vessel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's order, was sent to present his Majesty with the George found upon the body of the said earl, which remained, at the time of its taking up, in every part unblemished, saving some impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast: upon which his Majesty, out of his princely regard to the great deservings of the said earl, and his unexampled performances in this last act of his life, hath resolved to have his body brought up to London; there, at his charge, to receive the rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits.

"The earl of Sandwich's body being taken out of one of his Majesty's yachts at Deptford, on the 3d of July, 1672, and laid, in the most solemn manner, in a sumptuous barge, proceeded by water to Westminster-bridge, attended by the king's barges, his royal highness the duke of York's, as also with the several barges of the nobility, lord mayor, and the several companies of the city of London, adorned suitably to the melancholy occasion, with trumpets and other music, that sounded the deepest notes. On passing by the Tower, the great guns there were discharged, as well as at Whitehall; and, about five o'clock in the evening, the body being taken out of the barge at Westminster-bridge, there was a procession to the abbey church, with the highest magnificence. Eight earls were assistant to his son Edward, earl of Sandwich, chief mourner, and most of the nobility and persons of quality in town gave their assistance to his interment in the duke of Albemarle's vault, in the north side of King Henry VII.'s chapel, where his remains are deposited."

After this account of the respect shewn by his sovereign to his dead body, it may not be amiss to subjoin some instances of the tribute paid by illustrious persons to his memory. We will begin with the late duke of Buckinghamshire, who, having given us an account of the battle in Southwold-bay, concludes it thus: "The enemy had no success to boast, except the burning our Royal James; which, having on board her not only a thousand of our best men, but the earl of Sandwich himself, vice-admiral of England, was enough almost to style it a victory on their side, since his merit as to sea affairs was most extraordinary in all kinds." Bishop Parker, after a pompous detail of this bloody dispute, proceeds in these words:— "The English lost many volunteers, and ten captains of ships: amongst these were the earl of Sandwich, and Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, who almost alone fought with the third squadron of the Dutch: yet, at length, when Digby was shot through the heart, and the ship that he commanded was bored through with innumerable shot, the seamen with difficulty, brought her into the harbour; but Sandwich, having miserably shattered seven of their ships and beat off three fire-ships, at length, being overpowered with numbers, fell a sacrifice for his country; a gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices; of high birth, capable of any business, full of wisdom, a great commander at sea and land, and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal, and magnificent." Gerard Brant, who is never partial to any but his own countrymen, after a full account of the valour with which the earl defended himself, and which he styles unfortunate courage, is pleased to say—" Such was the fate of this noble peer, who was vice-admiral of England; a man equally brave, knowing, and of a most engaging behaviour; one who had rendered his sovereign the greatest services, not only in the field, but in the cabinet, and as an ambassador in foreign courts." Sir Edward Walker, who wrote an historical account of the knights of the garter, a work which it were to be wished the successors in his office had continued with like impartiality, gives the earl of Sandwich this character: "He was a person of extraordinary parts, courage, fidelity, and affability, and justly merited all the honours that were conferred upon him."

These testimonies from friends and foes, for the duke of Buckinghamshire and the bishop of Oxford were of a party not much inclined to favour the earl of Sandwich, from strangers as well as his own countrymen, are incontestible proofs of this great man's abilities; and, therefore, I was in some doubt whether I should add the following poetical compliment to his memory; but when I considered, that it might prove a hint to some abler poet to do justice to so sublime a subject, I thought the reader would not be displeased with the sight of a few lines, which have not hitherto been published.

EPITAPH:

Adorn'd with *titles*, but from *virtue* great,
Neptune at sea, and Nestor in the state;
Alike in council and in fight renown'd;
Oft with success, with merit always crown'd:
No heart more honest, and no head more wise,
A soldier, seaman, statesman, here he lies!
Tho' brave, yet gentle; though sincere, not rude;
Justice in camps, in courts he truth pursu'd.
Living, he rais'd a deathless, spotless name;
And, dying, soar'd above the reach of fame.
Reader, if *English*, stop the falling tear!
Grief should not wait on him who felt no fear:
He wants not pity—could his ashes speak,
These gen'rous sounds would from the marble break:
"Go, serve thy country, while God spares thee breath;
Live as I liv'd, and so deserve my death."

PRINCE RUPERT.

We must next say something of Prince Rupert, who commanded the English fleet often, and with great applause. To run through his memorable adventures would take up too much time, and deviate likewise from the intention of this treatise: we shall therefore touch briefly upon those circumstances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a sea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of some faithful historian, who may incline to transmit them to posterity in the manner they deserve. For though it cannot be denied, that this prince had his failings, and that these might have some bad effects on the affairs of King Charles I. yet it must likewise be confessed, that he did that monarch great services, and that his errors have been much heightened by the skill as well as partiality of some who have decried them.

He was the third son of the elector palatine, some time styled King of Bohemia, by the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to King James I. and was, consequently, nephew to King Charles I. His education, like that of most German princes, especially younger brothers, qualified him for arms; and such as have been least inclined to favour him admit, that he was extremely well fitted in respect both to natural abilities, and acquired accomplishments, for a great commander. When the unhappy civil wars broke out here, he came and offered his sword, when scarce of age, to his uncle, and through the whole war behaved with great intrepidity; and, on many occasions, his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary success: to reward which, as well as that posterity might have a just idea of the sense his Majesty entertained of his great merit, that prince, having first elected him into the most noble order of the garter, did, by his letters patent, bearing date at Oxford, the 19th of January, in the 19th year of his reign, make him a free denizen; and, on the 24th of the same month, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of England, by the title of earl of Holdernesse and duke of Cumberland. When the war was over, he went abroad, with a pass from the parliament; but, when the fleet revolted to the prince of Wales, he readily went on board it, where he distinguished himself by vigorous counsels: which, however, were not followed; but, on the return of the fleet to Holland, the command of it was left to him. He then sailed to Ireland, where he endeavoured to support the king's sinking cause; but was quickly pursued by the parliament's superior fleet, under Popham and Blake, who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of Kinsale, whence he escaped, by boldly pushing through their fleet; an action as successful in the event as brave in the intention.

After this escape, he proceeded to the coast of Spain, where, at first, he was treated with some respect; but when it was known that the parliament had a better fleet at sea, and were very intent on pursuing and crushing his highness, the Spaniards became afraid of shewing him any mark of favour: and, therefore, when two or three of his ships were distressed, and ran ashore, they plundered them, and pressed the men into their service. This we need the less wonder at, if we consider that Captain Young burnt the Antelope, one of the prince's ships, in the harbour of Helvoetsluys, without any respect to the authority of the States-general, even in their own ports; and this, it is said, inclined them to a war with England. For observing the temper of the parliament, and the growth of their naval power, it was easy for the Dutch to foresee, that nothing but a vigorous resistance could defend their trade, or preserve them from subjection.

From the coast of Spain the prince sailed to Lisbon, and was quickly followed thither by Blake, with a squadron of eighteen sail. We have already given some account of this expedition, and of his being at last forced by Blake to leave that port, and betake himself again to the Mediterranean; and, therefore, here I shall only observe, that it was chiefly the high respect paid to Prince Rupert's person, that enabled him to keep the sea with his squadron, which was now become too small to be called a fleet. On the 5th of November, 1650, General Blake destroyed the Roebuck and the Black Prince, two of the best ships he had remaining, while his highness in the Reformation, and his brother, Prince Maurice, in the Convertine, or, as other writers say, in the Swallow, sailed into the Adriatic sea, and, after taking some prizes, returned, after Blake's departure, into the port of Toulon, where they disposed of them, paid their sailors, and provided for a more distant expedition.

It must be observed, that though this kind of behaviour in Prince Rupert exasperated the parliament against him, and was, in reality, as I have elsewhere owned, a very unjustifiable practice; yet it was, on the other hand, the source of the parliament's power at sea, which they would otherwise have scarce thought of maintaining: but finding themselves on a sudden on bad terms with Spain, embroiled with France, disliked by the Dutch, and at open war with Portugal; they were obliged to cultivate a naval force with their utmost care; in which, as they applied themselves to it with diligence, it must be admitted they were very successful, and had quickly so many squadrons well manned at sea, as made them terrible to all the world.

Prince Rupert's squadron, in the spring of the year 1651, sailed again for the Streights, consisting then of no more than five men of war, and two fireships. There he began to take Spanish ships by way of reprisal, for the respect they shewed the parliament, till finding himself hard pressed by Penn, he resolved, having, indeed, no resource besides, to follow his brother into the West Indies. This project was owing to the Lord Willoughby's engaging Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands to declare for the king, when all other colonies, except Virginia, had submitted to the parliament. This design might possibly have proved more successful, if Prince Rupert, on his arrival in those parts, had applied himself to the preservation of the West India trade; but, instead of this, both he and Prince Maurice continued to cruize upon the Spaniards, till the latter perished at sea, and the former found his ships in such a shattered condition, that it was absolutely necessary for him to return into Europe; which accordingly he did, and, in the close of the year 1652, arrived safely in Brittany, where he disposed of his prizes, paid his seamen, as far as it would go, and for the present laid aside his command as an admiral. His conduct on this occasion is very harshly represented by the earl of Clarendon, who, as he never lived on any great terms of friendship with him, might possibly conceive worse of his proceedings than they deserved. This is certain, that the noble historian was greatly mistaken in what he says of the prince's deserting the king's service on his going back into Germany ; for we have undeniable testimonies of the contrary, and several letters of his are yet extant, whereby it appears that he negociated with several princes of the empire on his Majesty's behalf, and behaved towards him on all occasions, in his exile, after the quarrel at Paris, with all the duty and deference that he could have shewn him on the throne.

On the king's restoration, Prince Rupert was invited into England, where the king, who had an affection for him, gave him various offices worthy of his high birth. With a view of honouring the society of the Inner Temple, his royal highness the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorset, and Sir William Morrice, one of the secretaries of state, were pleased to be admitted of that house, the duke of York being then called to the bar and bench ; and, on the fourth of November in the same year (1661), his highness Prince Rupert, Thomas earl of Cleveland, Jocelyn Lord Percy, John Lord Berkley of Stratton, and other persons of rank, condescended to honour the society in like manner. On the 28th of April, 1662, the prince, together with George duke of Buckingham, and John Lord Middleton, were sworn members of the privy council also in the December following, when the statutes of the royal society were presented to the king, who was pleased to superscribe himself their founder and patron; his royal highness the duke and Prince Rupert, at the same time, declared themselves fellows. By this time his highness's fire was in some degree qualified, and his judgment became cooler, and fitter for the discharge of great employments ; when, therefore, in the year 1666, the king intrusted him, in conjunction with the duke of Albemarle, to command the fleet, he discovered all the great qualities that could be desired in an admiral; for, by his happy return to the fleet, on the 3d of June, he ravished from the Dutch the only victory they had the appearance of gaining, and, afterwards, on the 24th of June, beat them effectually, pursued them to their own coast, blocked up their harbours, and made them sensible of the superiority of English courage, when not oppressed by numbers. In the autumn of the same year, having the sole command of our fleet, and understanding that the Dutch were endeavouring to join a French squadron of forty sail under the duke of Beaufort, he followed them closely into Boulogne road; upon which to avoid another battle, they hauled in so near the shore, as in all probability they must either have been burnt or sunk, if a sudden storm had not forced the prince to return to St. Helen's bay. But, in the mean time, Sir Thomas Allen with his squadron fell in with part of the French fleet, and used them so roughly, that they were glad to betake themselves to port, and lay aside all thoughts of joining their allies.

On his highness's return home, he was kindly received by the king, and grew into great esteem with the nation. He always steered cautiously between the factions at court; and, having so near a relation to his Majesty, his highness never thought of strengthening his interest by entering into intrigues: yet, on the other hand, he never declined any occasion that offered of shewing himself a firm Protestant, and a true patriot, though he knew that this conduct would expose him to the aspersions of some who were not much inclined to be his friends. But the king, who was obliged to govern too often by parties, was far from disliking his cousin's conduct, since it gave him an opportunity of using his counsels, and engaging his services, with the general approbation of his people, which otherwise he could not have done. In other respects, the prince was very loyal, and would never be persuaded, even by such as had a great influence over him, to go into any of those measures, which, though covered with specious pretences, served, in reality, only to distress the king, and to distract his subjects.

After the breaking out of the last Dutch war, and the passing the test-act, his highness was drawn from his retirement to take upon him once more the command of the fleet. The duke of York had resigned his office of lord high admiral; the earl of Sandwich and most of the old admirals were dead; so that none could, with any decency, be called to that important charge but himself. He had never lived on any terms with the ministry who were styled the CABAL; and indeed it was impossible he should; for they were all persons of the utmost art, and he was one of the plainest men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themselves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make such dispositions in the fleet as were fittest to render the admiral uneasy, from a prospect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of York, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character would oblige his royal highness. There needed no more to set these folks to work: they began to find fault with every order he gave, and to misrepresent every measure he took; but the prince quickly convinced them, that, instead of hurting his character, they would, by such conduct, totally destroy their own.

By his brisk getting out to sea in the month of April, he shewed, that he could be active in age as well as youth; and by sailing over to the Dutch coast, he discovered a readiness to fight, which was the old characteristic of an English admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of May, 1672, in which we had the advantage;

but it may not be amiss to copy a short paragraph from the prince's own letter, which shews the modesty of his nature, and withal his strict honour, and noble impartiality, since it relates to the behaviour of one who, he knew, did not like him: "Sir Edward Spragge also on his side maintained the fight with so much courage and resolution, that their whole body gave way to such a degree, that had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and the king would have had a better account of them. The case being thus, and the night approaching, I judged it fit to stand a little off, and to anchor here where I now ride."

The next engagement happened on the 5th of June, in which the advantage was more plainly on the side of the English, as is evident from Prince Rupert's letter, which was immediately published; but, after this engagement, he found the fleet to be so miserably destitute of all necessaries, and, which was worse, so indifferently manned, that he thought fit to return home. This measure, though very necessary, might have been liable to some misconstruction from posterity, if, by accident, we were not furnished with a true key to it, which was this—The prince had often complained before, and the officers of the navy had constantly persuaded the king, that there were no grounds for his complaints; which put his highness under the necessity of taking this step, that the thing might be put out of dispute, and the fleet out of wants. As this shewed his spirit (for he brought the king himself to look upon the ships), so he gave afterwards as strong a proof of his judgment, by carrying the whole fleet through the Narrow on the 19th of July, and appearing on the Dutch coast almost as soon as they had received certain intelligence of his returning to his own.

On the 11th of August, he fought the last battle that was fought against this enemy, of which we have already given so full an account, that, in respect to the fact, we can add nothing here: on his return from his command, the king expressed some coolness, which was owing not more to the arts of his highness's enemies, than to the quickness of his letter in relation to the last fight, and the behaviour of the French,* but the king's displeasure quickly wore out, as the interest of the cabal began to decline. After this, the prince led a quiet and, in a great measure, a retired life, mostly at Windsor Castle, of which he was governor, and spent a great part of his time in the prosecution of chemical and philosophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors with applause for his skill in painting, and celebrated by one of the most judicious of our own for his invention of mezzo-tinto prints, since risen, from their softness and beauty, into so high esteem. He likewise delighted in making locks for fire-arms, and was the inventor of a composition called, from him, prince's metal. He communicated to the royal society his improvements upon gunpowder, by refining the several ingredients, and making it more carefully, which, as appears upon several trials reported to that learned body, augmented its force, in comparison of ordinary powder, in the proportion of ten to one; an invention, which, though too expensive for common occasions, deserves to be remembered, because in particular cases it may be of singular utility. He also acquainted them with an engine he had contrived for raising water, and sent them an instrument, of which he made use, to cast any platform into perspective, and for which they deputed a select committee of their members to return him their thanks. He was the inventor of a gun for discharging several bullets with the utmost speed, facility, and safety, which was generally and justly admired. The royal society received likewise from his highness the intimation of a certain method of blowing up rocks in mines, and other subterraneous places. The very ingenious and indefatigable Dr. Hook has preserved another invention of his for making hail-shot of all sizes. He devised a particular kind of screw, by the means of which, observations taken by a quadrant at sea were secured from receiving any alteration by the unsteadiness of the observer's hand, or through the motion of the ship. It was said, that he had also, among other secrets, one that was very curious, and, if preserved, might be very beneficial, which was that of melting or running black lead, like a metal, into a mould, and reducing it back again into its original form.

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* The reader may guess at the particulars of this letter, from the following paragraph of the Exact Relation, &c. in which they are summed up almost in his own words. "In the midst of so many intrigues of opposition here at home, so many delays of his commission, so few powers contained in it, such scanty number of seamen, so little assurance of divers chief commanders, such failure of provisions, such want of ammunition and all other necessaries, such deceit of navy officers, such non-observance of orders at sea amongst his own English, and so manifest defections of the French; not to be staggered in his resolution, nor to be put out of all patience and prudence in action, nor to abate of his affection and zeal for the honour and service of his Majesty, the safeguard and interest of religion and the kingdom; in a season when so many Popish projectors played a game under board, and above too: will be an everlasting argument of his highness's valour and renown, and must needs be a strong obligation upon the king, the parliament, and the people of England, who are now left to judge, whether it was not a wonderful good providence of God, or one of the most memorable pieces of service ever done at sea, to surmount all those difficulties, and even envy itself; and, after all, to bring home the fleet royal of England, without the loss of one man of war, to her own shore in safety, in despite of all enemies that designed otherwise by sea and land."

As to his public character in the last ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot, which was owing to the innate honesty of his temper, and not to his having any liking to intrigues. He gave indefatigable attention to whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good. He was a great promoter of the trade to Africa, and a principal protector of the royal African company, as a proof of which, before the first Dutch war, in this reign, he offered his Majesty to sail with a squadron to the coast of Guinea, in order to vindicate the honour of the crown, assert the just rights of the company, and redress the injuries done to the nation: but the king, unwilling to hazard his person at such a distance, and in so sickly a climate, though he received the motion kindly, would not consent to it, but contented himself with taking an officer of his recommendation (Captain Holmes), under whom the squadron was sent. He was an active member of the council of trade. It was owing to his solicitations, after being at great expence not only in the inquiry into the value, but in sending ships thither, that the Hudson's Bay company was erected, of which he was the first governor appointed by the charter. In memory of him, a considerable opening on the east side of that bay, in Terra de Labrador, is called Rupert's River. In general, his highness was a great friend to seamen, and to all learned, ingenious, and public-spirited persons, and assisted them with his purse, as well as afforded them his countenance. He was concerned in the patent for annealed cannon, in a glass house, and other undertakings for acquiring or improving manufactures, for which some have censured him as giving encouragement to projectors. But surely this censure is very ill placed, since, without such patrons, industry and ingenuity would want support, and many useful inventions, many valuable discoveries, barely emerge, and then sink again into oblivion. But strict justice has been done to his highness's many virtues, and amiable qualities, by abler and more impartial judges, especially in that excellent character of him by the elegant pen of Bishop Sprat. In respect to his private life he was so just, so beneficent, so courteous, that his memory remained dear to all who knew him.

This I say of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in Berkshire speak in raptures of Prince Rupert.

He died at his house in Spring-gardens on the 29th of November, 1682, in his grand climacteric, leaving behind him a natural son, usually called Dudley Rupert, by a daughter of Henry Bard Viscount Bellemont, though styled in his father's last will and testament Dudley Bard. He received the first tincture of letters at Eton school, where the gentleness of his temper, and the modesty and amiableness of his behaviour, procured him universal esteem. His genius, however, inclining rather to arms than study, he was placed under the care of that celebrated mathematician Sir Jonas Moore at the Tower. Here he continued till the demise of the prince, when he made a tour into Germany to take possession of a considerable fortune which had been bequeathed to him. He was very kindly received by the Palatine family, to whom he had the honour of being so nearly allied. In 1686 he made a campaign in Hungary, and distinguished himself at the siege of Buda, where he had the misfortune to lose his life, in the month of July or August, in a desperate attempt made by some English gentlemen upon the fortifications of that city, in the twentieth year of his age, and, though so young, had signalized his courage in such an extraordinary manner, that his death was exceedingly regretted. The prince left also a natural daughter, the Lady Ruperta, by Mrs. Margaret Hughes. This Lady Ruperta afterwards married General Howe.

SIR JOHN LAWSON.

A MAN of real integrity, who acts always from the dictates of his reason, will be sure to raise a high character, and to be justly esteemed even by those who differ from him ever so widely in sentiments. There is an irresistible force in a solid understanding that, when informed by the lights of experience, supplies all defects in education, triumphs over error, and, atoning for all past mistakes, procures unlimited confidence, and the most sincere regard. Both these assertions will appear to be founded in truth, from the following particulars, which, though no pains have been spared, are all we have been able to collect in relation to Sir John Lawson. For, since medals and monuments have been neglected, in regard to both which our neighbours the Dutch, though a nation eminently frugal, were wisely munificent, it becomes a necessary act of piety to preserve every thing relating to the actions of these great men, in order that posterity, reaping the fruits of their achievements, naval power, and extensive commerce, may at least know to whom they stand obliged, and how they were obtained.

As for this eminent commander, he was the son of a person in low circumstances at Hull, and bred to the sea, either on account of his own taking a liking to it, or that it best suited with his father's situation; who, perhaps, knew not otherwise how to provide for him. In process of time he obtained a ship by his merit; and serving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain therein, for his extraordinary desert. He served with great fidelity against all their enemies, so long as the parliament retained their power; and, towards the end of the war carried a flag, together with Penn, under Monk.

In 1653, he commanded a fleet of forty-four sail, which were sent over to the coast of Holland; and in this expedition, by taking a scarcely credible number of prizes, his acceptable service had a great influence in making the peace. On the change of the government, and Cromwell's assuming the supreme power to himself, he was continued in his command, and treated with very much respect; but, it seems, his principles did not incline him to act so steadily under the new government as he had done under the old. As to church affairs he was an Anabaptist; and, in respect to civil government, he was known to be from principle a republican. In all probability he received these tinctures early, and, like many other well-meaning, though misled, people, thought pursuing his own prejudices to be persevering in a good cause. He was certainly very honest in his conduct during the civil war, acting altogether upon conscientious motives, which led him to dislike the protector's government, though not to resist it; for he thought, that a man might lawfully serve his country under any authority; and indeed this was Blake's notion, and for the honour of the men, and the benefit of this nation, that of most of the sea-officers of those times.

It is very certain, that the protector Oliver had early intelligence of Lawson's disaffection. Colonel Overton, who had plotted against Monk in Scotland, had, in some of his conferences with his friends, mentioned Vice-admiral Lawson as a person upon whom they might depend; yet, for all this, he was employed and intrusted to command a fleet for the channel service in 1655. But the Spanish war had the same effect upon him that it had upon many officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injustice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into schemes against the protector. True it is, that Cromwell had no just motive for attacking Spain; but the grand reason why the republicans resented this so warmly was, because the crown of Spain had made greater advances to the parliament, than any other foreign power*.

There were, at the same time, a very formidable body of men, who conspired also against Cromwell on the most enthusiastic principles, and were styled fifth-monarchy men. With these, Lawson, Okey, Rich, and other officers, thought fit to join, because they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the present tyranny. Secretary Thurloe, however, had such early and such clear informations of all their proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing: on the contrary, April 10, 1657, Major-general Harrison, Admiral Lawson, and several others, were committed; which put an end to their intrigues *.

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* The reader may find this matter largely and clearly explained in a treatise intitled, "The World mistaken in Cromwell," which is reprinted in the first volume of State Tracts in the reign of Charles II.

When he recovered his liberty, he judged it proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he should ever be employed again: but, upon the first news of the return of Admiral Montague with his fleet from the Baltic, the parliament resolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide, and therefore sent for Mr. Lawson, declared him Vice-admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival. In his privacy he had conversed with some understanding cavaliers, and came to have a true notion of the folly of shifting from one form of government to another, and the great crime of subverting the constitution of one's country, to which an absolute obedience is due. As soon, therefore, as he heard of General Monk's march into England, he resolved to co-operate with him; and, knowing that nothing could be done but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon

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* Amongst Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 184, there is a very large discourse on this matter, which seems to have been a report made to the House of Commons. This is wrongly referred to in the index, where Vice-admiral Lawson is said to be one of the fifth monarchy men; whereas, from that very paper, it appears, that he was one of a committee appointed by the discontented officers in the army, to confer with these fifth monarchy men; amongst whom was Venner, who afterwards made a desperate attempt against King Charles II.

that head; for which he received their solemn thanks.

When Monk came to London, and many people doubted what course he would take, Admiral Lawson said to General Ludlow, "That, since the Levite and the priest had passed by without helping them, he hoped they had now found a Samaritan who would." This Ludlow understood in his own sense; but it was certainly meant in another. The Lieutenant-general himself understood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. William Prynne, out of his great loyalty to the house of Stuart, had given the clerk, without order of the House of Commons, a clause for excepting out of the bill of indemnity such as had taken the oath for abjuring that family, in the council of state, he was severely reprimanded by Dr. Clarges, brother to General Monk, because he foresaw that this would affect Admiral Lawson, to whom the General was previously engaged. Indeed, as to the Vice-admiral, he came very early and very heartily into the restoration; so that, when the earl of Sandwich acknowledged his services in this respect to the king in Holland, he was much caressed, received the honour of knighthood, and was always looked upon as a man sincerely attached to the crown; which was confirmed by all his succeeding actions.

On the king's return, the fleet, as we have already shewn, claimed his early and his earnest attention. Henry VIII. erected the navy-board, which consisted originally only of the four great officers; *viz.* the treasurer of the navy, the comptroller, the surveyor, and the clerk of the acts; but under succeeding reigns, as the business of the board was exceedingly increased, others were occasionally added, with the simple title of commissioners. This method was followed by the long parliament, and afterwards by the rump, who appointed twenty-one, of whom fourteen were out of their own body, and seven who were not members;

and of these, Vice-admiral Lawson was one. This board being broken by their dissolution, King Charles contented himself with adding to the four standing officers of the navy, four commissioners at the recommendation, as the earl of Clarendon assures us, of the duke of York, which were, the Lord Berkley, Sir John Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and Sir William Penn, with each of them a pension of five hundred pounds a-year. This gave them equal power with the old members, whenever they attended at the board, but assigned them no particular employments, or fixed in any degree, their attendance, but left his Majesty at full liberty to send them to sea as admirals, when, where, and as often as his affairs required.*

Immediately after the restoration, he was sent as vice-admiral to the earl of Sandwich, when he went to fetch Queen Catherine from Portugal, and was afterwards employed in the Mediterranean against the Algerines, to whom he did considerable damage, and so effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to send any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been disappointed in his expectation from De Ruyter, who, with his Dutch squadron, was sent on the same errand. These admirals differed about a salute which De Ruyter paid Lawson, and Lawson refused to return, as being bound up by his instructions. After this, there was no harmony between them: the Dutch admiral took the first opportunity of quitting this service, and slipping away to Guinea, which was highly resented by King Charles, and alledged as one of the causes of the Dutch war.

That it may not be from hence supposed, Sir John Lawson's refusing to salute De Ruyter proceeded either from pride in him, or from any captious disposition in those who drew his instructions, it will be proper to set this matter in a true light. The Dutch, to prevent the ceremony, to which they were tied by treaty, of saluting English ships in their own seas, from passing for an acknowledgment of our sovereignty in those seas, affected to pay them that respect wherever they met with them, that so it might appear to be no more than a mere compliment to an ally, and not a mark of submission to a superior. The court of England very well understood this; and, therefore, at his departure from the earl of Sandwich's fleet, Sir John had general orders not to strike his flag to the ships of any prince or state whatever. Soon after this accident, he received instructions to return home, and to leave the command of his squadron to Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Allen, who was appointed to finish the war he had begun against the Algerines.

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* At this time, we had scarcely any board but this; and, therefore, this was considered as very convenient means of granting an admiral a comfortable subsistence, for employing his talents in the service of his country, when not at sea.

On his arrival in England, he found the Dutch war broke out, and that the king had sent for him in order to serve under the duke of York, his brother, as rear-admiral of the red. Sir John was very grateful for this honour, but, at the same time, told his Majesty, that he could shew him a more compendious way of bringing the Dutch to reason, than by fitting out great fleets. He observed that, in the last Dutch war, they were infinitely more distressed by the captures he made after the last great battle, than they had been by all the operations of the war; and he added farther, that the reason of this was not hard to find, *viz.* that they were able, as a state, to fit out great fleets in less time, and at much less expence, than it was now possible, or probably ever would be, for his Majesty to do; and their subjects willingly contributed to this, because they saw the necessity, and were sensible of the good effects: but if very large numbers of their merchant-ships were taken, if their commerce in general was rendered precarious, and many of their traders by these misfortunes became beggars, they had no remedy; and that, therefore, this was the tender part in which they might be hurt, and in which, if they were hurt, they must make a peace on such terms as his Majesty should think fit to prescribe.

This advice was rejected at that time, because his royal highness was resolved to go to sea, and it was not thought consistent with his honour to stand on the defensive, and avoid fighting the Dutch fleet: but after Sir John Lawson was dead, and the expence of the war made it exceedingly burdensome to the king, he began to reflect on the counsel he had given him, and resolved to pursue it; but, wanting proper directions in the execution of this scheme, and, to speak the truth plainly, having many dishonest servants, who pretended to have their ships well manned, when they had scarely sailors enough to manage them, for so the thing appeared on a parliamentary inquiry, this design, as we have seen elsewhere, miscarried; and yet this miscarriage remains a stain on the memory of Sir John Lawson, in the judgment of some writers.

In all things relating to the fleet, after the war was declared, his royal highness the duke, likewise, consulted daily, says the noble historian, for his own information and instruction, with Sir John Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and Sir William Penn, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in several battles. Upon the advice of these men, the duke always made his estimates and all propositions to the king. There was somewhat of rivalship between the two last, because they had been in equal command; therefore the duke took Sir William Penn into his own ship, and made him captain of it, which was a great trust, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke, and so extinguished the others' emulation. Lawson, however, was the man of whose judgment the duke had the best esteem; and he was in truth, for a man of that breeding, a very extraordinary person. He understood his profession incomparably well, spoke clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough, when he was contradicted. Ayscue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted his understanding, if it had been ever sharp. He was of few words, yet spoke to the purpose, and to be easily understood. Penn, who had much the worst understanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a gentleman. He had got many good words, which he used at adventure; he was a formal man, and spoke very leisurely, but much, and, left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. These are the judicious Clarendon's characters of these three great seamen, with whom he was personally and intimately acquainted; and therefore his own words are retained.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York sailed with a grand fleet to the coast of Holland, himself carrying the red flag, Prince Rupert the white, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Towards the latter end of the engagement, which happened off Lowestoff on the memorable 3d of June, that day twelve years in which they had been beaten by Monk; Lawson, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was, by a musket-shot in his knee, disabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured so hard to gain. He did not, however, die till some days after, *viz.* June 29, 1665, when he had the satisfaction of knowing that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, so he died with glory.

We shall here subjoin the earl of Clarendon's account of this extraordinary person in his life, formerly published, and that in his lordship's own words; "There was," says he, "another almost irreparable loss this day in Sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell; and, finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke, to desire him to send another man to command his ship, which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal, and they made haste to send him on shore as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where, for some days, there was hope of his recovery; but shortly, his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

"He was, indeed, of all the men of that time, and of that extraction and education, incomparably the modestest and wisest man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of Yorkshire, near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the sea from their cradle; and a young man of that profession he was when the parliament first possessed themselves of the royal navy: and Hull being in their hands, all the northern seamen easily betook themselves to their service: and his industry and sobriety made him quickly taken notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, till, from a common sailor, he was promoted to be a captain of a small vessel, and from thence to the command of the best ships.

"He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the battles which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a signal officer, and very much valued by him. He was of that class of religion which were called Independents, most of whom were Anabaptists, who were generally believed to have most aversion to the king, and, therefore, employed in affairs of great trust. He was commander in chief of the fleet when Richard was thrown out; and, when the contest grew between the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet into the river, and declared for that which was called the parliament; which broke the neck of all other designs, though he intended only the better settlement of the commonwealth.

"Nor, after the restoration, did any man perform his duty better. He caused all persons, how well qualified soever, who he knew were affected to a republic, to be dismissed from the service; brought very good order into his own ship; frequented the church-prayers himself, and made all the seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his affection and countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the king, and never commended any body to the duke to be preferred but such, and performed to his death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest man.

"It looked like some presage that he had of his own death, that, before he went to sea, he came to the treasurer and the chancellor, to whom he had always borne much respect, and spoke to them in a dialect he had never before used; for he was a very generous man, and lived in his house decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least suit or pretence for money. Now he told them, that he was going upon an expedition in which many honest men must lose their lives; and though he had no apprehension of himself, but that God would protect him, as he had often done in the same occasions, yet he thought it became him, against the worst, to make his condition known to them, and the rather, because he knew he was esteemed generally to be rich. He said, in truth he thought himself so some few months since, when he was worth eight or nine thousand pounds; but the marriage of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune much above him, Mr. Richard Norton, of Southwick in

Hampshire, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out of tenderness to his son, had consented, it had obliged him to give her such a portion as might, in some degree, make her worthy of so great a fortune; and that he had not reserved so much to himself and wife, and all his other children, which were four or five, as he had given to that daughter; he desired them, therefore, that, if he should miscarry in this enterprise, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds a-year for her life; if he lived, he desired nothing; he hoped he should make some provision for them by his own industry; nor did he desire any other grant or security for this two hundred pounds yearly than the king's word and promise, and that they would see it effectual. The suit was so modest, and the ground of making it so just and reasonable, that they willingly informed his Majesty of it, who as graciously granted it, and spoke himself to him of it with very obliging circumstances; so that the poor man went very contentedly to his work, and perished as gallantly in it, with an universal lamentation. And it is to be presumed, that the promise was as well performed to his wife. Sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilst either of those two persons had any power."

It is worth observing, that all the writers of those times, though they differ widely in respect to many characters, concur in commending Sir John Lawson as a brave, honest, loyal commander, and as a very able and understanding seaman; and, as such, deserves to be honourably remembered.

SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE.

Sir John Kempthorne was descended from a good family in Devonshire, and was born in the parish of Widscombe in that county, in the year 1620. His father being a royalist, and in low circumstances, was glad of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading vessel belonging to Topsham, with whom he lived very happily for some years; and, being a young man of good natural abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge in his profession, by which, and by the favour of his master, he grew into great credit with the most eminent traders in Exeter, in whose service he made various voyages into the Mediterranean, with large profit to them, and no small reputation to himself. In the beginning of our wars with Spain, he distinguished himself by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large Spanish man of war, commanded by a knight of Malta; and, though the odds were very great, yet Captain Kempthorne defended himself gallantly, till all his ammunition was spent, and then, remembering that he had several large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better serve to annoy than enrich the enemy, and, therefore, ordered his men to load their guns with silver, which did such execution on the Spaniard's rigging, that, if his own ship had not been disabled by an unlucky shot, he had, in all probability, got clear. At last, however, overpowered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into Malaga.

The knight, to whom he was prisoner, treated him with the utmost kindness and civility, carried him home to his house, gave him the free use of it, spoke of him with much respect, commended his valour to every body, and declared, that he never knew a man who deserved higher preferment; and, after a short stay in this manner, which I can scarce call a confinement, he sent him to England. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate such a passage as this, without the proper circumstances of names and dates; but, when these have been slighted by such as first committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards easily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation, since, upon the credit of this action, Captain Kempthorne laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes. Having premised this, we may proceed to the second part of this adventure. Some years after, the same knight of Malta was taken in the Streights by Commodore Ven, and brought prisoner into England, where he was committed to the Tower: this afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities that he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did at his own expence, and furnished him with every thing necessary to return to Spain; an action generous and grateful in itself, and which could not fail of doing our English commander great honour.

After the restoration, Captain Kempthorne had some merit to plead, his father having quitted the profession of the law, to serve as a lieutenant of horse in the king's army, which honest and loyal act proved his total ruin. Whether this or any personal interest which his son might have, brought him into the navy, it is not easy to say; but, soon after the king's return, he was provided with a ship; *viz.* the Mary Rose, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ship he went as convoy to a considerable fleet of merchantmen into the Streights, and in the month of December, 1669, met with a squadron of seven Algerine men of war: by his prudence and courage he preserved, however, all the vessels under his care, and obliged the enemy to sheer off, after leaving behind them several of their men, who had boarded the Mary Rose, and were brought by Captain Kempthorne into England.

This gallant action justly intitled him to a flag; and yet it was some years afterwards out-done, with great satisfaction to the captain: for his son, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the King's Fisher, a frigate of forty-six guns, and two hundred and twenty men, engaged seven Algerines, three of which carried as many guns as the whole squadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was several times boarded, made them weary of their undertaking, and carried the king's ship safe into a Spanish port, where himself died of his wounds.

As for our hero, he was in both the Dutch wars, and behaved so well, that, upon the duke of Albemarle's taking the command of the fleet in 1666, he carried one of the flags; and in the succeeding war he served as rear-admiral, and had the honour of knighthood. He spent the latter part of his life in a post both of profit and reputation; *viz.* commissioner of his Majesty's navy at Portsmouth: and yet, it is said, that he was disgusted, as is frequently the case, at his being thus laid aside, and precluded, as he understood it, from any farther promotion which his merit might have intitled him to in the navy. We have no account of the motives which might induce the court to slight a man of Sir John Kempthorne's merit; only we are told, that he was a very zealous Protestant, and, having been chiefly raised by the favour of Prince Rupert, it is probable his interest declined with that of his Highness. However it was, it has been transmitted to posterity, that his sharp sense of his disappointments shortened his days: and thus a man who had with such courage ventured his life for the honour of the crown, and had done such signal service to the nation, was sacrificed to certain low, secret, pitiful court-intrigues, and left to wear away his life in a little employment, which would have been esteemed a high promotion by a person of a money-loving temper, and who had less passion for glory than this worthy gentleman, who ended his days on the 19th of October, 1679, when he wanted but one year of threescore. His body lies interred on the north side of the altar in the great church at Portsmouth; and I have heard, that some of his posterity are yet remaining in Devonshire. This Sir John Kempthorne had an elder brother, Captain Simon Kempthorne, who also distinguished himself at sea, but of whose actions I can say nothing in particular: I shall therefore content myself with having thus endeavoured to preserve his NAME.

The care taken by the Dutch, as I have more than once hinted before, to preserve the memories of those who have eminently served the state, by burying them at the public expence, erecting for them magnificent tombs, adorning these with honourable inscriptions, settling pensions on their families, and by such acts of gratitude obliging all historians, as well as putting it into their power to relate whatever concerns such persons carefully and distinctly, can never be enough commended. It is, indeed, one of the greatest instances of the wisdom of their government, since it supports and encourages public spirit, maintains the power and secures the reputation of the republic, which are things of the highest consequence to society, and the source of that liberty and happiness by which they are so gloriously distinguished from their neighbours. Happy had it been for us, if a like spirit had prevailed here! I should not then have been obliged to apologize so often for omissions, which I find it impossible to supply, nor would there have been occasion for this remark, to excuse the shortness of those accounts, which I am yet to give, of some of the greatest seamen who lived in this reign, and who by their gallant behaviour justly merit the praise of succeeding times.

SIR GEORGE AYSCOUGH,

OR, AS GENERALLY WRITTEN, AYSCUE, ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE.

AN intrepidity, which no danger can either dismay or distract, is that kind of temper which distinguishes our sea-commanders, and has exalted the

Howards, Greenvilles, Blakes, and several others that might be named, into the rank of heroes. It is a disposition that peculiarly endears an officer to seamen, who never fail to imitate his example; and from a resolution of this kind such amazing and almost incredible events have flowed, as shew that high courage, when accompanied with cool and steady conduct, in which intrepidity consists, is very different from either rashness or obstinacy, and may be justly considered as the standard of military virtue, and therefore the best intitled to fame. This rare and admirable quality, if the evidence of friends or foes can establish the possession of it incontestibly, was never more conspicuous than in Sir George Ayscue, whose merit was so great, and so generally understood, that he was preferred without envy; nay, his preferments were attended with such universal applause, as at length, which often happens in popular states, rendered him obnoxious to his masters. This did not hinder his appearing again in a higher station with equal reputation; and, having often vanquished enemies, he, in the last action of his life, triumphed over fortune.

He was a gentleman of an ancient and worthy family, settled at South Kelsey in Lincolnshire. His father, William Ascough, or Ayscue, Esq. was one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber to Charles I. by whom himself, and his elder brother Sir Edward Ayscue, were knighted. By intermarriages he stood allied to some as respectable families as any in the north, particularly the Savilles of Thornhill, the Cookes of Wheatly in Yorkshire, the Williamsons of Markham in Nottinghamshire, and many others. At the breaking out of the civil war, Sir Edward and Sir George Ayscue both adhered to the parliament, by whom the former was appointed one of their commissioners to reside with the Scotch army in 1646, and the latter was continued in his command in the navy, and always treated with the utmost deference and respect; which made such an impression upon him, that he remained attached to them with inviolable fidelity, though he had not been promoted in their service, or, except those testimonies of esteem, had received any marks of their favour.

When a great part of the fleet revolted in the summer of 1648, and set Colonel Rainsborough on shore, who was sent to take the command, Sir George Ayscue preserved his ship, the Lion, for the parliament, and brought her into the river Thames, of which he gave them notice. This important service at so critical a conjuncture was received with great satisfaction, and he was desired with Captain Moulton, to sail over to the coast of Holland, to watch the motions of the ships then under the prince of Wales. The next year he was declared admiral in the Irish seas, and directed to relieve Dublin, which was a thing of the utmost consequence. This he very successfully performed, as also many other services; which induced them to continue him in that office for another year, in which space he did all, and even more than they expected; for which they honoured him with their thanks, and assured him they would retain a suitable sense of what he had done in support of the English and Protestant interest in that kingdom.

The war, at least as far as it was a sea war, being brought to a conclusion in Ireland, the parliament found themselves at liberty to make use of their fleet elsewhere, and thereupon resolved to reduce the island of Barbadoes, which was held for King Charles by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who had served them long; but when he saw they meant to subvert the constitution, he quitted them, and went to King Charles II. in Holland. By whom he was declared vice-admiral of the revolted fleet, and afterward governor of the Leeward Islands. In order to accomplish this, orders were sent to Sir George Ayscue to form a squadron, which he was to man and victual as soon as possible, and then proceed to Barbadoes: but, before he was in any readiness to sail, those orders were countermanded. The reason of this was, the parliament had information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the isles of Scilly put into their hands; and therefore it was thought necessary to reduce those islands first. Blake and Ayscue were employed in this expedition in the spring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and success. They had but a small body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a considerable force in the island of St. Mary, commanded by some of the best officers in the late king's army; so that, if things had been decided by the sword, the dispute must have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John easily perceived that this must end fatally in respect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command, and therefore entered into a treaty with General Blake and Admiral Ayscue who used him very honourably and gave him fair conditions, after which Blake returned to England, and Ayscue prepared for his voyage to Barbadoes.

The parliament, when they first heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleased, as indeed they had very just reason, since privateers from thence did so much mischief, that scarcely any trade could be carried on with tolerable security: but, when the conditions were known, some great men changed their opinions, and gave Blake to understand, that he and his colleague had been too forward; so that it was doubtful, whether the parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake said, that, if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had not done it without good reason; that, in the first place, it saved the effusion of English blood, and next, that there was a strong squadron of Dutch ships at no great distance, the commander of which had offered Sir John one hundred thousand pounds to put these islands into his hands; that, if the parliament did not approve of his conduct, he should be sorry for it, and would take care to prevent a mistake of that sort for the future, by laying down his commission, as he was confident Sir George Ayscue would likewise do. Upon this, there was no more said of the articles, which were very punctually and honourably complied with, and Sir George received orders to sail immediately to the West Indies; which he obeyed.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of October, 1651, and became quickly sensible of the difficulty of that enterprise. His own force was very inconsiderable in comparison of that of the island: the governor was a man of quality, good sense, and well beloved, and had assembled a body of nearly five thousand men to oppose him. In spite of all these difficulties, he was determined to do his utmost to reduce the place; and how well he succeeded, the reader may learn from the following succinct relation of General Ludlow:

"Sir George opened a passage into the harbour, by firing some great shot, and then seized upon twelve of their ships without opposition: the next day he sent a summons to the Lord Willoughby to submit to the authority of the parliament of England; but he, not acknowledging any such power, declared his resolution to keep the island for the king's service. But the news of the defeat of the Scots and their king at Worcester, being brought to Sir George Ayscue, together with an intercepted letter from the Lady Willoughby, containing the same account, he summoned him a second time, and accompanied his summons with the lady's letter, to assure him of the truth of that report. But the Lord Willoughby relying upon his numbers, and the fewness of those that were sent to reduce him, being in all but fifteen sail, returned an answer of the like substance with the former. Whereupon Sir George Ayscue sent two hundred men on shore, commanded by Captain Morrice, to attack a quarter of the enemy's that lay by the harbour, which they executed successfully, by taking the fort and about forty prisoners, with four pieces of cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again.

"At this time, the Virginia fleet arriving at Barbadoes, it was thought fit to send a third summons to the Lord Willoughby; but finding that neither this, nor the declaration sent to them by the commissioners of parliament to the same purpose, produced any effect, Sir George Ayscue landed seven hundred men from his own and the Virginia fleet, giving the command of them to the same Captain Morrice, who fell upon thirteen hundred of the enemy's foot, and three troops of their horse, and beat them from their works, killing many of their men, and taking about one hundred prisoners, with all their guns. The loss on our side was inconsiderable, few of the men being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet these successes were not sufficient to accomplish the work, there being above five thousand horse and foot in the island, and our Virginia fleet preparing to depart for want of provisions.

"In this conjuncture, Colonel Muddiford, who commanded a regiment in the island, by the means of a friend that he had in our fleet, made his terms, and declared for the parliament. Many of his friends following his example, did the like, and in conjunction with him, encamped under the protection of our fleet. Upon this, the most part of the island were inclined to join us; but the Lord Willoughby prevented them, by placing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and designed to charge our men with his body of horse, wherein he was much superior to them, had not a cannon-ball, that was fired at random, beat open the door of a room where he and his council of war were sitting, which, taking off the head of the centinel who was placed at the door, so alarmed them all, that he changed his design, and retreated to a place two miles distant from the harbour. Our party, consisting of two thousand foot and one hundred horse, advancing towards him, he desired to treat; which, being accepted, Colonel Muddiford, Colonel Collyton, Mr. Searl, and Captain Pack, were appointed commissioners by Sir George Ayscue; and by the Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Pierce, Mr. Charles Pym, Colonel Ellis, and Major Byham.

"By these it was concluded, that the islands of Nevis, Antigua, and St. Christopher's, should be surrendered to the parliament of England; that the Lord Willoughby, Colonel Walrond, and some others, should be restored to their estates; and that the inhabitants of the said isles should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what they possessed, on condition to do nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. This news being brought to Virginia, they submitted also, where one Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of mine, served the parliament in the like manner, as Colonel Muddiford had done at Barbadoes."

Sir George Ayscue returned to Plymouth on the 25th of May, 1652, with great reputation. The Dutch war, which broke out while he was abroad, was now very warm, and Sir George was forced to take a share therein, though his ships were, with so long a voyage, extremely foul, and in a manner unfit for service: yet, when General Blake sailed to the north, he performed glorious, indeed almost incredible things; for, in July, he took five Dutch merchantmen, and, afterwards, attacked a fleet of forty sail under the convoy of four men of war, took seven, burnt three, and forced the rest on the French shore. On the 16th of August, 1652, the Dutch attempted to surprise Sir George with a great fleet who was just then returned from convoying a rich fleet of East India ships into Plymouth. Though he was much inferior in strength, he fought notwithstanding, and at last, with considerable loss, forced them to retire. After this, he continued to behave vigorously against the enemy; and though his services were not very well received by the parliament, yet both the seamen and the people agreed that he had acted like a hero. Of this we have a strong testimony in Lilly's almanack, which was a kind of oracle in those days.*

In some short time after this, the parliament thought fit to consider Sir George's former services, and to vote him, as a reward, three hundred pounds a-year in Ireland, and also three hundred pounds in money; but they thought proper, at the same time, to lay him aside, under pretence that the honour of the nation was some way affected by the loss he had suffered in the late fight in Dover road: but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own historians, but the Dutch writers also, agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occasion; and so far was the honour of the nation from being at all injured by any loss he sustained, that this very action was then, and still is, considered as one of the strongest proofs of the invincible courage of the English at sea. Nay, immediately before he was dismissed from his command, he gave a most extraordinary proof of his courage; for he protested against Blake's retreat, after he had been worsted in the battle of the 29th of November, and declared, he thought it more honourable to perish at sea, than to retire in the sight of an enemy; and upon this occasion he intimated a design of throwing up, which gave his enemies so fair an opportunity of taking away his commission.

The true grounds of the parliament's displeasure towards him, though they did not care to own it, was, the fair agreement he had made with the Lord

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* This passage occurs in his observations on August 1653, and runs thus: "August 16, 1652, Sir George Ayscue near Plymouth, with fourteen or fifteen ships only, fought threescore sail of Dutch men of war, and received 30 shot in the hull of his own ship. Twenty merchant (I suppose merchantmen converted into) men of war never came in to assist him; yet he made the Dutch give way. Why our state shall pay those ships which fought not, we of the people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his actions."

Willoughby at Barbadoes, and the largeness of those articles of capitulation which he had granted him. They thought he might have been sufficiently cautioned by the resentment they had shewn on the treaty he made with Sir John Greenville, and were therefore the more deeply touched with this, which they looked upon as a second offence. Another reason for their inclining to lay him down softly was, his great influence over the seamen, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. In this transaction they were too wise for themselves; for they parted with a man who was certainly firm to their interests, disobliged the sea-officers, who knew not what to think of such a proceeding, and lost the affection of the sailors, as appeared very soon after, when General Cromwell turned them out of doors, the whole fleet concurring in the approbation of that measure; which shews how dangerous a thing it is to sacrifice a man of known merit to secret distrusts.

After this, the admiral led a retired life, without concerning himself with public affairs. The grant he had of an estate in Ireland, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with Henry Cromwell who then governed that kingdom, and who conceived from thence so great an esteem for him, that he wrote expressly to Secretary Thurloe, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment then in agitation, and in any thing else which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced person. Yet it doth not appear that he was ever employed or perhaps chose to be employed, in the protector's service; for I find him in 1656 at his seat in Surrey, which is thus described by Whitlocke: "The house stands environed with ponds, moats, and water, like a ship at sea; a fancy the fitter for the master's humour, who was himself so great a seaman. There, he said, he had cast anchor, and intended to spend the rest of his life in private retirement." He changed his resolution, however, for which, if I mistake not, this visit laid a foundation; since Whitlocke went, in company with the Swedish ambassador, and Sir George was afterwards prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to Sweden, where he was to be admiral.

This scheme of sending him into the north, was one of the last formed by the protector Oliver. He had always kept a close correspondence with Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, from the time that prince mounted the throne, and drew many advantages from this conjunction. He saw, therefore, with great regret, the success of the Dutch in settling the affairs of the north, and their awing his ally, the king of Sweden, by keeping a strong fleet in the Baltic. He had his reasons for avoiding a second war with the Dutch; and yet he could not think of abandoning the Swedes. At last, therefore, he took a resolution of sending a stout squadron, well manned, under the command of Vice-admiral Goodson, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George Ayscue, as we have shewn in another place: the latter having accepted of a commission in his Swedish Majesty's service; by which stroke of policy, the protector thought he should avoid all disputes with Holland, and yet do as much for the Swedes as they could desire.* But this squadron sailing too late in the year, the ice prevented its arrival at Copenhagen; however, Admiral Ayscue proceeded to Sweden by land, and was treated with great marks of esteem and favour by his Swedish Majesty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's decease, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660; so that Sir George Ayscue had no manner of concern in the last troubles in England.

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* How much the news of this project alarmed the Danes, will appear from the following letter of their minister to Secretary Thurloe, dated September 27, 1658; when, in prosecution of Oliver's design, Richard had resolved to send Ayscue to Sweden.

"May it please your lordship,

"Talk has been these many months, that Sir George Ayscue and ten or twelve sea-captains, were to take service under the king of Sweden, which I could not be induced to believe, thinking the said Ayscue would not turn a mercenary soldier of another prince, whilst the war in his own country lasted: if he could not be satisfied with that wealth and honour he has gotten, and lived a retired and quiet life. But I have been deceived in my opinion, and find, that certainly he and the said captains are to depart in a few days; they to command each a man of war, and Sir George, the whole Swedish fleet." Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii.

He returned home soon after the restoration, and was received with all the respect that was due to a man of his high rank and merit. He was, as we have already mentioned, appointed one of the commissioners for regulating the affairs of the navy, and in high esteem with the duke of York, who always consulted him in whatever regarded maritime concerns. When the Dutch war broke out, in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the blue squadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665. On the duke of York's return to court, and the earl of Sandwich's hoisting the royal flag, Sir George Ayscue served as vice-admiral of the red, and was very fortunate in making prizes.

In 1666, when Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded, Sir George Ayscue, in the Royal Prince, the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, bore the white flag, as admiral of that squadron, having Sir William Berkley for his vice, and Sir John Harman for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the first of June, he did remarkable service, not only against the enemy, but in the preservation of such of the English ships as were disabled by their superior force. With the same successful diligence he acted the two next days: but towards the evening of the third, when Prince Rupert appeared with the frigates under his command, and a signal was made for the fleet to join, Sir George Ayscue's ship unfortunately ran upon the Galloper, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, surrounded by his enemies, and unassisted by his friends, he was, as the

Dutch writers themselves confess, compelled by his own seamen to strike; upon which, the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off the Royal Prince, set her on fire.

This capture of Sir George Ayscue, gave the enemy great satisfaction. They carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at last shut him up in the castle of Louvestein, where he continued for some months. After his return, which was in November, when he was graciously received by his Majesty, he went no more to sea, but spent the remainder of his days in quiet. But where, or when this great and gallant seaman concluded his life, I have not been able to discover.

SIR EDWARD SPRAGGE,

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE.

THERE are some men great in a particular way, to a degree of eminence that exempts them from any blame, though possibly defective in many others. Education and habit alter men frequently, and nature herself sometimes infuses qualities into the breasts of men, which particularly disposes them to a certain kind of life, and as apparently disables them from following other pursuits; but it very rarely happens, that a man is alike equal to various, and even to opposite employments. Alcibiades is celebrated, by antiquity, for his peculiar felicity in this respect. In the camp, in the court, in the closet, he was equally able, and esteemed. He was a soldier, a seaman, a statesman, a courtier, a man of business, or a man of pleasure, as circumstances required: and, in every character he assumed, he so far excelled, as to seem born and designed for that alone. The same thing his contemporaries, his companions, those who knew him and the world too, perfectly well, affirm of Sir

Edward Spragge, who, with a fine person, and a gentle temper, had as solid an understanding, and as bold a spirit, as any counsellor or captain of that age.

With all these advantages, with the favour of the duke of York, with the merit of so great services, as he certainly rendered his country, and with the still superior merit of dying gloriously in his country's service, which, indeed, procured his remains an interment in Westminster-abbey, he was not honoured with a tomb, or any memorial, as far as I can discover, where he was born, of what family, or how he attained to his first perferment; which are circumstances that ought to have been recorded, of so great and gallant a man, and which, in or nearer his own times, might have been easily known. But since these are not, at present, to be retrieved, we must be satisfied with those notices which have connected his actions with our public history; and these, we shall find, will abundantly make good what we have already observed, and induce us to regret the want of more particular memoirs; because it is a kind of political justice, to preserve the private history of those who have deserved well of the public.

We find him a captain, in the first engagement with the Dutch, after the restoration, on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein he behaved with great reputation, and so far recommended himself to the favour of the duke of York, that, upon his Majesty's visiting the navy, and going on board the Royal Charles, he received the honour of knighthood: which encouraged him to expose himself still more freely. He was, likewise, in the four-days battle in June 1666, where he was particularly taken notice of by the duke of Albemarle; and in the succeeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of July, he carried a flag under Sir Jeremiah Smith, Admiral of the Blue squadron, who engaged Van Tromp, shattered his vice-admiral, so that she was absolutely disabled, and, having ruined the rigging of his rear-admiral, and killed his commander, contributed greatly to the glory of that day.

He distinguished himself, likewise, very remarkably in the close of that war, in the unlucky business at Chatham, where he was employed, by the duke of Albemarle, to maintain the fort of Sheerness, attacked by the enemy on the 10th of June, 1667; and though it was unfinished, his garrison very small, and the place in no state of resistance; yet he continued to defend himself, till it would have been an act of rashness to expose his garrison any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual service by land, he set himself to collect as great a force as he could by sea. This amounted to no more than five frigates, seventeen fire-ships, and some tenders; and yet when the Dutch Admiral, Van Nes, came up the river again, after their attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward Spragge engaged him about the Hope. The fight was very unequal; but there being, at first, little or no wind, Sir Edward laid hold of that advantage; and, by dexterously towing his fire-ships, burnt eleven or twelve of theirs, with only six of his own: but the wind stiffening, he was at last obliged to shelter himself, from the enemy's unequal force, under the cannon of Tilbury-fort.

The next day, the weather being favourable, he attacked the Dutch again, in his turn; and, by the happy management of his fire-ships, put them into such confusion, that, after a short dispute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their last fire-ship themselves, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they prosecuted their retreat, but with Sir Edward Spragge's squadron of fire-ships in their rear. He followed them to the river's mouth, where they met another squadron of fire ships from Harwich, which put them in such danger, that above a hundred men in the vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large man of war, leaped overboard, and were drowned. This was the last action, on our side, in that war, In 1668, the constable of Castile being appointed governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Sir Edward Spragge was sent over to compliment him upon that occasion, and to enter into some further negociations for the success of the new measures, in which Sir Edward is said to have been deeply engaged.* The truth is, he was raised and supported by the favour of the duke of York; so that he devoted himself wholly to his service, and was thought to have a large share in his confidence. Some have from thence reported, that he was a Papist; of which there is little probability, since we find him sent to sea with Prince Rupert, in 1673, when the Test had driven the duke of York, and others of his religion, from their posts. This advancement of Spragge I mention here, only to obviate the objection to him on the score of religion: for, before I speak of his behaviour in the last Dutch war, I must take notice of his employment in the Mediterranean, after his return from his negociation in Flanders.

There had been several squadrons sent to chastise the Algerines, both by the English and Dutch; but very few of them had been able to effect any great matter: they, generally speaking, contented themselves with some slight action, to the prejudice of these corsairs, and then concluded a peace; which was usually broken by that time they, with their squadrons, were returned home. The consideration of this, together with the loud complaints of the merchants, induced the court to fix upon Sir Edward Spragge to command a squadron in those seas, in hopes of his meeting with greater, or making more use of his success than his predecessors, from his known courage and resolution; for it is confessed, by the writers of those times, that Sir Edward greatly resembled the earl of Sandwich, and concealed, like him, a high and daring spirit, under the most captivating address, and most polished behaviour.

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* Lord Arlington, in his letter to Sir William Temple, dated London, December 11, 1668, says, "The bearer, Sir Edward Spragge, is sent, by his Majesty, to the constable of Castile, to compliment his Excellency upon his arrival in Flanders; where, because it is possible you may either meet him the said Sir Edward, according to your late credential, or send to him, in order to something in his Majesty's service, I thought I could not do less than, in a few lines, let you know, that he is a brave man, and hath long served his Majesty faithfully (particularly with much gallantry in the last Dutch wars); that you may, on all occasions, put that value upon him which is his due, and which shall be always acknowledged by," &c. Sir Edward returned to Whitehall, from his embassy, on the 29th of January following. Annals of the Universe.

He sailed from England, on this expedition, in the spring of the year 1671, with five frigates, and three fire-ships, and there might be as many more ships in those seas; so that, in all, his fleet consisted of about twelve sail. In the latter end of the month of April, he had intelligence, that there were several Algerine men of war in Bugia Bay; on which, he called a council of war, when it was resolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In pursuance of this resolution, he sailed thither; but, in his passage, had the misfortune to have the Eagle fire-ship disabled by a storm: and, soon after, one of his ships springing her main-mast, was obliged to bear away for the Spanish shore. Sir Edward, however, persisted in his design, refitted the Eagle, and bore into the Bay of Bugia with a brisk gale, not doubting that he should be able to fire the ships; but, by that time they got within half shot of the castle and forts, it fell a dead calm; and when the wind rose again, it proved contrary.

On the 2d of May, they were able to do nothing, for the same reason, the wind changing every half-hour; upon which, Sir Edward resolved to make an attempt upon them in the night with his boats, and the smallest of his fire-ships, which rowed as well as a long-boat. About twelve o'clock that night, he executed his project, sending in all his boats, and the Eagle fire-ship, under the command of his eldest lieutenant Mr. Nugent; but the night proving very dark, and the high land obscuring the ships as they drew near them, they passed by: and lieutenant Nugent, leaving one of the boats with the fire-ships, besides her own, rowed in, to discover the enemy, leaving orders, with the captain of the fire-ship, to come to an anchor, in case he found shoal water. The lieutenant had not left them a minute before he perceived himself within pistol-shot of the ships; and, concluding the business now as good as done, steered off again to find the fire-ship, and, to his amazement, saw her all in flames.

The enemy taking the alarm at this, the lieutenant was forced to row off with his boats; and so this promising advantage vanished, which had given hopes of burning all the Algerine men of war, without the loss of a man. The next day, the enemy unrigged all their ships, and made a strong boom with their yards, top-masts, and cables, bouyed up with casks, for which they had all the leisure and conveniency they could wish, the wind hindering the English from doing any thing: and, to try the admiral's patience to the very utmost, it so fell out, that, by a drunken gunner's firing a pistol, his other small fire-ship was destroyed; so that he had now none left but the Little Victory, which drew too much water to enter that part of the bay where the Algerines lay.*

On Monday the 8th of May, 1671, there appeared a considerable body of horse and foot in the neighbourhood of the bay, which were soon after discovered to be an escort to a very large convoy of ammunition sent from Algiers to the ships; on the safe arrival of which, they fired all their cannon, to testify their joy. Sir Edward Spragge, not knowing what future reinforcements they might receive, resolved to take the earliest opportunity of making his last and utmost effort; and, in order thereto, directed the Victory to be lightened, so that she might not draw above eight feet. About noon, there sprung up a fine breeze to the east; upon which, the admiral gave the signal for the men of war to draw into a line, and bear up into the bay; immediately after, the wind sunk at once, so that they despaired of doing any thing.*

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* This bay the Romans called the Numidian Gulph. The town of Bugia was built by them, and the walls still remain. Don Alonzo De Perulta, the Spanish governor, surrendered it, in the xvith century, to the Algerines; for which he lost his head.

But about two the gale sprang up again, and the ships bore in, as they were directed. The admiral came to an anchor in four fathom water, close under their castle walls, which fired upon him continually for two hours. In this space he sent in his own pinnace, and those of the Mary and the Dragon; these cut the boom, though not without considerable loss. Lieutenant Pinn, who commanded the Mary's boat's crew, had eight wounded with himself; Lieutenant Pierce of the Dragon was also wounded, with ten of his men, and one killed. In the admiral's own pinnace, there were seven killed, and all the rest wounded, except Mr. Harman, who commanded it.

The boom being cut, the fire-ship went in, and getting up athwart their boltsprits, their ships being a-ground, and fast to the castles, she burnt very well, and destroyed them all. Captain Harris, who commanded her, his master's mate, gunner, and one of his seamen, were desperately wounded with small shot and this at their entrance: so that, probably, the whole design had proved abortive, if the admiral had not, with great prudence, commissioned Henry Williams, then one of his master's mates, but who had formerly commanded the Rose fire ship, to take the charge of the vessel, in case the other was disabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him.

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* Shaw's Travels, p. 44. Strabo calls this place Sarda, the Romans Saldis; and the true orthography of the modern name is Boujeiah; the sound of which is preserved in Bugia.

This loss was irreparable to the Algerines, who had picked out those seven men of war, that were here burnt, on purpose to fight Sir Edward Spragge; had furnished them with their best brass ordnance from on board all the rest of their vessels, with between eighteen and nineteen hundred chosen men double officered, under the command of old Terkey their admiral, of whom between three and four hundred were killed, the castles and town miserably torn, and a vast number of people in them slain and wounded; and, which much increased the misfortune, all their surgeons' chests were burnt on board their ships, so that numbers died for want of having their wounds dressed. Besides the men of war (of which we give a list in the Note),* there were burnt a Genoese ship, a small English prize, and a settee.†

In this engagement Sir Edward Spragge had only seventeen men killed, and forty-one wounded, which, makes the victory still more extraordinary, and is a very full proof how necessary a steady and constant temper of mind, as well as a brisk and active courage, is, in an officer who bears supreme command at

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* An exact List of the Algier Ships burnt in Boujeiah, or Bugia Bay, with their number of guns, May 8, 1671.

Ships' Names.	Commanders.	Guns.
White Horse,	Tabark Rays,	34
Orange Tree,	Courhaly,	34
Three Cypress Trees,	Caram Hammet,	34
Three Half Moons,	Brayham Tagrin,	28
Pearl,	Brayham Turco,	26
Golden Crown,	Halua Tagrin,	24
Half Moon,	Hammet,	24

† This account of Sir Edward Spragge's expedition, is taken, first from his instructions, published in the Memoirs of English affairs, chiefly naval, p. 200; which instructions are dated at Richmond, the 14th of June, 1670, and several other papers in the same book; 2dly, from Sir Edward's own letter, dated May 11, 1671, and published by authority under the title of "A true and perfect Relation of the happy Success and Victory obtained against the Turks of Algiers at Bugia, by his Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean, under the Command of Sir Edward Spragge, &c. Printed in the Savoy, by Thomas Newcomb, 1671."

sea. What the consequences were of this memorable action, and how well Sir Edward by his prudence improved the advantage that had been thus gained by his arms, we have already shewn, and shall not, therefore, repeat it here, but proceed to his conduct in the last Dutch war, in which he was remarkably distinguished*.

After having performed, with equal honour and success, the business for which he was sent into the Mediterranean, he returned in the beginning of the year 1672, with the squadron under his command. The Dutch war was then meditated by our court, but had not as yet broke out. Sir Robert Holmes, who had been the principal instrument in bringing on the first Dutch war, was employed also to begin this, by attacking the Smyrna fleet, which was then expected home. On the 12th of January, Sir Edward Spragge met with Sir Robert Holmes's squadron near the Isle of Wight; and, upon Sir Robert's inquiring news, Sir Edward very frankly told him, that he had sailed several days with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that in a day or two's time they might be certainly expected.

Sir Robert Holmes was very well pleased with this news, but took great care to say nothing that might give him the least intimation of his having any orders to attack them, though, if he had so done, and required Sir Edward's assistance, he could not possibly have failed of taking or destroying that whole fleet, which was reckoned to be worth a million and half sterling, and on the taking of which the king depended for a supply towards carrying on the war. But Sir Robert, averse to sharing any part of the reputation that might be acquired by this action, used his utmost diligence that nobody should have any hand in the execution of it but himself, in which, however, he had no success :- and, as this blasted his reputation with the world, so it produced a quarrel between him and Sir Edward Spragge, which could never afterwards be composed.

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* It may not be amiss to remark here, that, in all our wars with the pirates of Algiers, the Spaniards allowed us the free use of the harbour of Port Mahon, as to the champions of the Christian cause, and protectors of the commerce of the Mediterranean; and thither Sir Edward repaired to refit, before he returned home.

When his royal highness the duke of York had resolved to take upon himself the command once again, of the English navy, Sir Edward Spragge was chiefly depended on for assembling the fleet, and preparing all things for the reception of his royal highness, as I find by an order directed to him as commander in chief of his Majesty's fleet, dated June 15, 1672*; and he performed his part so well, that by the end of the month all things were completely ready, and his highness was invited on board, who joined him soon after, together with the earl of Sandwich, and other persons of distinction. He was present in Solebay fight the 28th of May, and distinguished himself therein by sinking a Dutch ship of sixty guns: during the rest of that campaign he behaved with his accustomed diligence, and returned with great reputation after it was over, which very probably determined the court to employ him the next year in so high a station†.

When the duke of York, by the passing of the test act, was obliged to part with his command, and the court, to gratify the desires of the nation, lay under an absolute necessity of making use of Prince Rupert, they took care to secure the fleet notwithstanding, by employing on board it such officers only as they could best, and his highness could least trust. Sir Edward Spragge was to carry the blue flag, instead of Sir Robert Holmes whom his highness proposed; and, because there had been a difference between these two admirals, the court thought fit to lay Holmes entirely aside, though he was a very active man, and had been much in their confidence. Before the fleet put to sea, Sir Edward was sent with the character of envoy extraordinary to France, where he was received with all possible respect, exceedingly caressed during his stay, and, at his taking leave, had a present made him of great value. His business was, to renew the treaty with that court, to settle the rules that were to be observed on the junction of the French and English fleets, and to restore the old friendship between the courts, which seemed to be somewhat injured by the late proceedings in England. As no circumstances of Sir Edward Spragge's negociation or instructions were ever communicated to Prince Rupert, it gave him fresh grounds of dislike; so that, when Sir Edward came to hoist his flag, there was a great coldness between them.

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* See the growth of Popery, by Andrew Marvell, where we are told, Sir Edward Spragge's squadron was still in sight when Sir Robert Holmes attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that Captain Legge made sail after him to bring him back to their assistance, till called away by a gun from his own admiral.

† The secret histories of those times say, that the miscarriage of the design on the Smyrna fleet overset the schemes of the CABAL, who hoped thereby to make the two nations irreconcilable, to have embarked the merchants and the people in the quarrel, and to have obtained, by the sale of the cargo, a fund for the campaign, which otherwise they scarcely knew how to get.

This did not hinder our admiral's doing his duty very gallantly in the engagement which happened on the 28th of May, 1673, in which he fought Van Tromp seven hours, forced him to go from the Golden Lion into the Prince on horseback, and thence into the Amsterdam, from that into the Comet, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by De Ruyter. Sir Edward also twice changed his ship. These circumstances are not mentioned at all in the account which was published after Sir Edward's death; but in Prince Rupert's letter to the earl of Arlington the matter, notwithstanding the quarrel betwixt them, is very fairly stated. "Sir Edward Spragge," says his highness, "did on his side maintain the fight with so much courage and resolution, that their whole body gave way to such a degree, that, had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and the King would have had a better account of them."

In the battle of the 4th of June, Sir Edward is generally blamed for coming, just before the engagement began, six miles in his boat to receive his highness's orders: however, after he returned, he behaved with great resolution, forced Van Tromp, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his ship, and would inevitably have either taken or destroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the admiral. The hazard that he ran, provoked him so against Vice-admiral Sweers, that he accused him to the States-general. Prince Rupert in his letter takes no notice of Sir Edward Spragge's behaviour at all; and, though it is very certain that he had the advantage of Van Tromp in this action, yet even that is concealed by an author who pretends to more than ordinary knowledge of all that passed. The Dutch writers confess his bravery, and own he pushed them hard; and Tromp in his letter to the States says, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark.

In the third battle, which happened on the 11th of August, Sir Edward Spragge with the Blue squadron was in the rear, where, it is said, that notwithstanding he had promised Prince Rupert not to part from his side, yet, being provoked by Van Tromp, he laid his fore-top sail to the mast to stay for him, and, having engaged his squadron, continued fighting for many hours at a distance from the body of the fleet. Sir Edward was at first on board the Royal Prince, and Van Tromp in the Golden Lion; but after a dispute of about three hours, in which the Dutch admiral always avoided, as much as possible, coming to a close fight, Sir Edward's ship was so disabled, that he was forced to go on board the St. George, as Van Tromp, for the same reason, went on board the Comet. Then the fight between them began again with greater fury than before: at last the

St. George was so battered, that Sir Edward thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the Royal Charles; but, before his boat had rowed ten times its own length from the St. George, it was pierced by a cannon-shot.; upon which the crew endeavoured as strenuously as men could do to get back again; but, before that could be effected, Sir Edward was drowned, his hands taking so strong hold on the side of the boat, that, when it came to float, he was found with his head and shoulders above water.

This glorious though untimely end had the brave Sir Edward Spragge, who thereby made good what he promised the king when he took leave of him, that he would either bring him Van Tromp alive or dead, or lose his own life in the attempt. These admirals, indeed, seem to have had a particular passion each to overcome the other; for they had constantly fought in every battle from the time that Sir Edward Spragge succeeded the earl of Sandwich, and Van Tromp came again to command the Dutch fleet in the room of Van Ghent. The Dutch writers speak of his death with visible regret, and own, that he was one of the bravest men and best commanders that ever fought at sea: our own writers are profuse in the praises they bestow on his valour, and therefore I shall content myself with citing only one testimony in his favour, which shall be that of Bishop Parker, who describes the last scene of his life thus:

" There was a remarkable fight between Spragge and Tromp; for these having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out of hatred but a thirst of glory, they engaged with all the rage, or, as it were, with all the sport of war. They came so close to one another, that, like an army of foot, they fought at once with their guns and swords. Almost at every turn, both their ships, though not sunk, were yet bored through, their cannon being discharged within common gun-shot: neither did our ball fall in vain into the sea, but each ship pierced the other, as if they had fought with spears. But at length, three or four ships being shattered, as Spragge was passing in a long boat from one ship to another, the boat was overturned by a chance shot, and that great man, not being skilled in swimming, was drowned, to the great grief of his generous enemy, who, after the death of Spragge, could hardly hope to find an enemy equal to himself. But thus it happened, that when that brave man had overcome so many dangers, his country being now victorious and safe, no honour remained for him to receive, but the reward of a glorious death*."

We will take this opportunity of mentioning what became of the vessel which Sir Edward Spragge first quitted, and on board which he chose to hoist the blue flag. This was the Royal Prince, a first rate, of the burden of fourteen hundred tons, carrying one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and seven hundred and eighty men. She was exceedingly well built, in perfectly good order, and allowed to be as fine a ship as any in either of the fleets. Before Sir Edward left her, all her masts were gone, most of her upper tire of guns were disabled, four hundred men killed, and in other respects very little better than a wreck. In this situation, a large Dutch man of war bore down upon her with two fire-ships, resolved to burn, sink, or take her. The first-lieutenant, giving all for lost, ordered the colours to be struck, and the men to shift for themselves; but the gunner, Mr. Richard Leake, a bold determined man, who had before given the strongest proofs of conduct and courage, ordered the lieutenant to quit the deck, took the command himself, sunk the two fire-ships, forced the man of war to sheer off, and brought the Royal Prince, wreck as she was, safe into port. This gentleman, who was father to the famous Sir John Leake, was, for these and other services, made keeper of the ordnance stores, and master-gunner of England; a man, whose name lived long in the memories of seamen, and should live for ever, could my pen confer immortality.

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* Bishop Parker's History of his own Times. The same prelate in another part of his History tells us, that Sir Edward Spragge was a person the love and delight of all men, as well for his noble courage, as the gentle sweetness of his temper.

SIR THOMAS ALLEN.

This gentleman, distinguished as a naval commander, was, probably, a native of Lowestoffe, in the county of Suffolk, but of the time of his birth we have no particulars. In this and in many similar instances, we must content ourselves with what facts we can collect, not permitting our ignorance of some things, which may be regarded, indeed, as necessary in a complete biographical memoir, to prevent a detail of those glorious deeds, to the display of which our volumes are more immediately devoted. This commander having been always warmly attached to the cause of royalty, served as commander of a ship in the part of the fleet which revolted to the Prince of Wales, and was in the year 1660 appointed to the command of the Dover, which was among the first of the ships commissioned by the duke of York. After this, he was, in the two following years, appointed to the command of the Plymouth, the Foresight, the Lyon, and the Rainbow. In 1663 he was appointed commodore and commander in chief of the ships and vessels in the Downs, and had, on this occasion, the singular privilege allowed him of wearing the union flag at his main-top. This he hoisted on board the St. Andrew, and in the following year he had the same command renewed, with the same privilege attached to it. In the month of August 1664, he was appointed commander in chief in the Mediterranean, to succeed Sir John Lawson, who was ordered to return home. He sailed on this service in the Plymouth, in company with the Crown, which was put under his orders. Having arrived at Tangiers, and communicated his instructions to Sir John, he entered upon his command, hoisting his flag at the main-top-mast head, as his commission authorized him to do on the departure of his predecessor. In the ensuing spring, being on a cruise with his squadron, consisting of eight or nine ships, off the mouth of the Streights, he had the good fortune to fall in with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, comprehending forty sail, under convoy of four men of war. As England had issued a declaration of war against the States-General, he did not hesitate a moment in attacking them. The contest was obstinate, but in the end Brackel, the Dutch commodore, being killed, their line broken, and several of their ships sunk, four of the richest were captured; one of these had received so much damage in the action, that she unfortunately foundered in her passage to England; the remainder of the fleet took refuge in Cadiz, where they remained blocked up, till the return of the admiral to England liberated them from their confinement. On his return, in the month of June, he was promoted to the rank of admiral of the Blue. Besides this, he had a special commission to act as vice-admiral of the fleet, then under the command of the earl of Sandwich; and on the 24th of the same month he received the honour of knighthood. In 1666 he was appointed admiral of the White, and having his flag on board the Royal James, he was sent to oppose the French, against whom war had been just declared, and whose fleet was reported to be then coming up the channel for the purpose of joining the Dutch. This intelligence being unfounded, Prince Rupert, and Sir Thomas Allen's division, returned just in time to turn the scale in favour of the English, and rescue the duke of Albemarle, who had been hard pressed by the superior numbers of the Dutch, during a fight of three days continuance. The English were not long ere they had complete satisfaction for this temporary advantage. On the 25th of July the fleets again met, and another action commenced. Sir Thomas Allen, who continued to command the van, or white squadron, making a furious attack on the Dutch admiral, Evertzen. The Friezland and Zealand squadrons, of which he had the chief command, were totally defeated, he himself, together with his vice, and rear-admiral, killed, and the Tolen, commanded by Bankart, vice-admiral of Zealand, taken, and soon afterwards burnt, together with another large man of war. In short, says the historian, as no man was ever more deserving of success, so did no one ever obtain it more completely. On the 18th of September, Sir Thomas captured the Ruby, a French man of war, mounting 54 guns, commanded by M. De la Roche. This ship, which was the finest in the French navy, had mistaken the English squadron, for that of her own country, and surrendered almost without the shadow of resistance. In 1668, on information being received that the French fleet, under the duke of Beaufort, was at sea, Sir Thomas was sent, with a discretionary power, to observe their motions, but nothing material took place during the cruise. In the month of August he sailed for the Streights, and having arrived off Algiers on the eighth of October, he quickly, by his peremptory behaviour, disposed the government to propose equitable terms of accommodation, which were immediately drawn up and executed. Our admiral next sailed for Naples, where the highest honours were shewn him, which were so mortifying to the Dutch squadron, then lying there, that they left the place in the greatest disgust. A similar degree of respect was shewn him at Leghorn; and from this port he returned to Algiers, where having received every assurance that the treaty of peace he had lately concluded with them, would be faithfully observed, he returned to England. Scarcely, however, had he got clear of the Streights, than the Algerines, elated at his absence, began to renew their depredations, so that he was compelled to hoist his flag again to inflict on them a summary vengeance. He appeared off Algiers, took and destroyed a large number of their corsairs, and continued this kind of warfare a considerable time. In the year 1670, he solicited and obtained his recal, and on his arrival he retired from the command and was, as a reward of his services, appointed comptroller of the navy. In 1678, he was again appointed commander in chief of his Majesty's fleet in the narrow seas, which was occasioned by the probability of a war with France, but that soon passing away, the brave admiral returned to his former retirement, where he passed, with accumulated respect and honour, his latter days.

SIR ROBERT HOLMES.

This gentleman was commander of the Bramble at the time of the restoration, and in the course of a few months he was successively appointed to the Truelove and the Henrietta. In the year 1661 he was promoted to the Charles, and sent out as commodore of a small squadron consisting of four frigates, to the coast of Africa, to make reprisals on the Dutch, who refused to make good the treaty they had entered into with the English, and who had been guilty of many enormities in that part of the world, where they had possessed themselves of Cape Corse Castle by force. Major Holmes, as he was then called, the distinctions now in use among land officers only, being then indiscriminately applied to commanders in both services, arrived the latter end of January at the Cape de Verde, and proceeded to attack the island of Goree, which, though strongly fortified, and resolutely defended, he took in the course of a few hours. After this he reduced Cape Corse Castle: he then sailed for North America, where, in conjunction with Sir Robert Carr, he reduced the island of New York. After his return he was in 1665, appointed to the command of the Revenge of 58 guns, and in the following year was made captain of the Defiance, a new ship of sixty-four guns. King Charles, attended by the duke of York, Prince Rupert, and a number of persons of distinction, being present at the time of launching this ship, conferred on her intended commander the honour of knighthood. He very highly distinguished himself during the first action with the Dutch, and was promoted to be rear-admiral of the red squadron as soon as the fleet returned into port to be refitted. On this occasion he hoisted his flag on board the Henry, a second rate of seventy-two guns, and after having acquitted himself in the second fight which took place on the 25th of July, with his usual spirit, he was detached, by the commanders-in-chief, Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, who put several ships under his command, to destroy a large fleet of merchantmen, consisting of 170 sail, guarded by two men of war, then lying between the islands of Ulie and Schelling. The most flattering success crowned this enterprise. The two men of war, and almost all the merchantmen were burnt. The following day, Sir Robert effected a landing, with eleven companies of soldiers, with which he had been furnished for the expedition, on the island of Schelling, and having burnt the town of Bandaris, and carried off a very considerable booty, he reimbarked his troops with the loss of only twelve men, killed and wounded, in the whole expedition, after taking and destroying the enemy's property to the amount of more than a million of money. In Sept. 1667, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Portsmouth squadron, with permission to wear the union flag at his main-topmast head. On this occasion he hoisted his flag on board the Defiance of 64 guns; from which ship he soon afterwards removed into the Cambridge of the same force. In 1672 he was appointed commander-in-chief of a squadron fitted out to attack the Dutch Smyrna fleet: he soon fell in with the Dutch convoy consisting of seventy-two merchantmen, guarded by six men of war. At this moment his force consisted of only five frigates, though if his fleet had been completed, it would have consisted of 36 men of war. Notwithstanding his great inferiority he attacked the enemy, and obtained the glory of having worsted him. On the following day he renewed the attack, but still without decisive success. Sir Robert, though wounded, did not despair, and renewing the attack on the afternoon of the same day, after a desperate action he made himself master of a Dutch man of war of fifty-four guns, which was the rear-admiral of the squadron. The prize had received so much damage in the action, that she sunk soon afterwards, and the rest of the Dutch fleet effected their retreat, with no further loss than four or five of their merchant ships, which were taken: this was the last service ever performed by Admiral Holmes. The want of more decisive success, or the disagreement between him and Sir Edward Spragge was the cause of his being no longer employed. He retired from active life, leaving behind him a high reputation, which time will not be able to injure.

SIR RICHARD STAYNER

Was commander of a ship of war, during the Protectorate, and in conjunction with a Captain Smith he took a Dutch East India Ship of eight hundred tons burthen, having on board four chests of silver. In 1656, with three frigates under his command, he fell in with the Spanish flota, consisting of eight sail.

Disproportionate as their numbers were, he hesitated not a moment to attack them: and he did it with such gallantry and success, that, in a few hours, one of them was sunk, a second burnt, two were captured, and two driven on shore; so that of the whole fleet, two ships, or, as it is asserted by some, one only made its escape into Cadiz. The treasure captured on this occasion, amounted to six hundred thousand pounds sterling; so that Captain Stayner returned to England not only crowned with glory, but laden with wealth. In the following year he again sailed with the fleet, under the chief command of Blake, for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish West India fleet. When they had cruised off Cadiz for some days, Blake received intelligence that the flota had taken shelter in the bay of Santa Cruz. Having arranged the ships with the utmost care and judgment, and those ships being supported by a considerable number of forts and batteries on shore, the Spaniards thought themselves so perfectly secure, in case of an attack, that their admiral sent Blake an open defiance. On reconnoitering the force and position of the enemy, the English admiral found it impossible to bring off the enemy's ships, though gallantry and prudence might render it possible to destroy them. Stayner was immediately detached to begin the attack, and being supported by Blake with the remainder of the fleet, the Spaniards were, in a very few hours, driven out of their ships and breast-works. The former were instantly taken possession of by the English: and it being impossible to bring them off, they were all set on fire and burnt to the water's edge. Clarendon's eulogium on this spirited and gallant action is too remarkable to be omitted. "The whole action," says he, "was so miraculous, that all men, who knew the place, wondered that any sober men, with what courage soever endowed, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done! whilst the

Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such manner." Cromwell thought so highly of the conduct of Captain Stayner, that he immediately conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

The destruction of the ships at Santa Cruz concludes the naval transactions of the protectorate; the death of Cromwell took place soon afterwards, and Sir Richard had no further opportunity of exhibiting that gallantry for which he was, as has been already shewn, so remarkably distinguished. On the eve of the restoration, tired with the confusion that had so long prevailed, and become a convert to the principles of regal government, he again entered into service, being one of the commanders under Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, who went with the fleet to receive Charles II. This service being completed, he had conferred upon him from the hands of that Sovereign, a legal knighthood, and was constituted rear-admiral of the fleet. He hoisted his flag by appointment of the duke of York, lord high-admiral on board the Swiftsure. The following year he served in the same station, having removed his flag into the Mary. The nation being at peace, no opportunity was offered to this brave man of adding to those services which he had already rendered his country. It is thought he died soon after this.

SIR THOMAS TIDDIMAN

Was made commander of the Resolution in 1660; in 1661 of the Fairfax; in 1663 of the Kent; and, in the following year of the Revenge; and afterwards of the Swiftsure. On his removal into this last ship, he was appointed rear-admiral of the squadron, under the command of the earl of Sandwich, on the probability and prospect of the Dutch war.

These several appointments having taken place in the time of profound peace, nothing memorable occurs in the life of this very brave officer till the year 1665, when he hoisted his flag, as rear-admiral of the blue, on board the Royal Catherine, and he eminently distinguished himself in the engagement with the Dutch fleet under Opdam. At the return of the fleet, as a proof that the gallantry of commanders ought never to pass unnoticed by the Sovereign, Charles II. made an excursion for the special purpose of honouring, and rewarding such, as had rendered themselves most conspicuous. Among the first of those was Admiral Tiddiman, who, as a mark of his royal master's gratitude, received the honour of knighthood. On the duke of York's quitting the command of the fleet, and the appointment of the earl of Sandwich in his room, Sir Thomas was promoted rear-admiral of the red. He was afterwards detached, by his commander in chief, with fourteen men of war and three fire-ships, to attack the Turkey and India fleet belonging to the Dutch, which, in consequence of Opdam's disaster, had taken refuge in Berghen. A kind of negociation, not very honourable to either party, had been opened between the English and Danes; the result of which was, that in consequence of a proper douceur, it was agreed that the Danes, to whom the distressed Hollanders had flown for succour, should remain perfectly passive during the intended attack. Owing to some of those mistakes, to which a business of so complex and unfair a nature must be ever liable, the Danish governor had not received the necessary orders from his court, when the English squadron made its appearance, he, therefore, held himself bound in honour, as well as in compliance with what are called the laws of nations, to defend those who had placed themselves under his protection. The spirit with which the Dutch defended their ships, aided by the fire made from the castle, on which were mounted one and forty pieces of heavy cannon, became an enemy too formidable for the English squadron to cope with; so that, after a tremendous cannonade of several hours continuance, by which, half the ships in the squadron were totally disabled: Sir Thomas, blameless, except that of having been the agent appointed to carry into execution an enterprise from which, even if successful, nothing could result but disgrace and dishonour, was glad to retreat in the best manner the shattered condition of his ships would permit. On the following day the orders arrived; but, in consequence of the late event, the governor still refused to admit the English squadron, till he had received fresh instructions from his court; and Sir Thomas smarting under his late disaster, returned to England in disgust. In the month of May, 1666, he was, on Prince Rupert's quitting the fleet with the white squadron, appointed to serve as a temporary rear-admiral of the white; and so much did he distinguish himself in the action between the duke of Albemarle and the Dutch, that it was, for some time, currently reported, Van Tromp's ship was sunk by the fire of the Royal Catherine. On the return of the fleet to refit, he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the white, the squadron which, in the second engagement with the Dutch in 1666, so much contributed to the complete victory obtained over them, by the very furious manner in which it attacked the van of De Ruyter's fleet. The Royal Catherine was so roughly treated, as to be obliged to refit. No greater encomium can be passed on the behaviour of our admirals and commanders in this action, than to say they had the honour of totally defeating three such men as De Ruyter, Evertzen, and Van Tromp. We have no farther account of this naval hero, except that he commanded the Cambridge in 1668.

JAMES LEY, EARL OF MARLBOROUGH,

Was the grand-son of James Ley, earl of Marlborough, so created by Charles I. in the year 1626. Having entered into the sea-service he was, in 1661, appointed to command the Dunkirk, and made commodore of a squadron sent to the East Indies, to take possession of Bombay for Charles II. as being part of the portion given by Portugal, with the Infanta his intended queen. After his return he was, in 1665, appointed commander of the Old James, a second rate of seventy guns. He served in this ship as a private captain in the fleet, fitted out the same year, under the duke of York, and unfortunately fell in the action with Opdam. The manner in which he signalized himself during the short time he had served, and the uniform testimony borne by all to his excellent behaviour, and general conduct in life, left those who survived him every thing to have hoped for, from his future exertions, had Providence permitted them; and every thing to lament at having so noble and worthy a personage so prematurely snatched from them. Basnage, and the author of Tromp's life, bear the most honourable testimonies to the gallantry of this noble earl; and give us, as an anecdote relative to his death, "that he was killed in the act of re-taking the Montague, a third rate of fifty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Carlstake, of which the enemy had taken possession." The earl of Clarendon, after having pathetically lamented his fate, describes him as a "man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning." And he is described in the archives of the Herald's College, as having applied himself to learned and generous studies, whereby he rendered himself highly capable to serve his prince and country, of which he gave signal testimony, from the beginning of the late unhappy rebellion, unto the minute of his death, not only by voluntarily exposing his person to all dangers, and valiantly fighting in his Majesty's armies against the rebels, but in applying himself to navigation, wherein he became most expert, spending in these services the greatest part of the last twenty years of his life, together with his patrimony; and, in that time, he visited the American plantations, and the East and West Indies; to the first of which he was sent by his Majesty, *anno* 1662, with a fleet of ships and land forces, to take possession of Bombay, which, by agreement with the crown of Portugal, was then to be surrendered to his Majesty. In this charge, he demeaned himself as became a man of honour and prudence. Lastly, this most noble earl having the command of one of his Majesty's principal ships of war, called the Old James, after he had given all possible proofs of his conduct and courage in the late naval battle against the Dutch, fought on Saturday the 3d of June, under the auspicious command of his royal highness James, duke of York, he fell in the bed of honour, being slain with a great shot; the like of which took away also, about half an hour before, the life of the Right Honourable and most noble Lord, Charles Weston, Earl of Portland. This earl of Marlborough died unmarried, in the forty-sixth year of his age."

SIR WILLIAM BERKELY.

This gentleman was the noble descendant of a most ancient and honourable family, lineally deduced from Robert Fitzharding, a person of considerable eminence at the time of the conquest. Having betaken himself to the sea-service, he was appointed lieutenant of the Swiftsure in 1661; in 1662 he was removed into the Assistance; and a very short time afterwards, was promoted to command the Bonadventure. In 1663 he was appointed to the Bristol, and, in the ensuing year to the Resolution. All this happening in the time of peace, there was, as yet, no opportunity for his natural gallantry to shew itself, as it afterwards did, so much to the credit of the British name, and so heroically to the reputation, though, alas! so fatally to the life of this great and truly brave man. In 1665 he was appointed to command the Swiftsure; and, notwithstanding his youth, he being only twenty-six years old, was promoted to be rear-admiral of the red squadron, under the duke of York. On the return of the fleet into port, after the defeat of the Dutch, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the white, under Sir William Penn; but no second action took place during the remainder of the year. In 1666, when the fleet was under the command of Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, Sir William went to sea, as vice-admiral of the blue, and led the van of the fleet with his squadron. The separation of the white, under Prince Rupert, from the blue and red squadrons, which remained with the duke of Albemarle, and the bloody and desperate conflict which took place in consequence of that fatal, though, perhaps, unavoidable plan of operations, has been mentioned. Towards the conclusion of the first day's action, Sir William's ship, the Swiftsure, a second rate, being with two others, cut off from our line, was, after it had been completely disabled, unfortunately taken. To aggravate the misfortune, as if the national distress would otherwise have been incomplete, and which was a greater loss than that of the ship which he commanded, here fell the brave Sir William Berkely. Adorned with every quality necessary to constitute an hero, he lived only to make known his rising virtues, leaving his country to mourn over their absence, without even knowing their full extent. Every respect was paid to his memory by the Dutch, his body being embalmed and deposited in the chapel of the great church at the Hague, by order of the States. A messenger was sent to England to King Charles, requesting that he would give the necessary orders for the disposal of it; a civility they professed to owe to his corpse, in respect of the quality of his person, the greatness of his command, and the courage and valour which he displayed in that action, in which he unfortunately fell. Lediard has the following note extracted from the Life of Van Tromp, which, as it contains a most particular account of the manner of Sir William's death, will warrant its re-insertion here. "Highly to be admired was the resolution of Vice-admiral Berkely, who, though cut off from the line, surrounded by his enemies, great numbers of his men killed, his ship disabled, and boarded on all sides, yet continued fighting almost alone, killed several with his own hand, and would accept of no quarter, till, at length, being shot in the throat with a musket-ball, he retired into the captain's cabin, where he was found dead, extended at his full length on a table, and almost covered with his own blood."

SIR JOHN HARMAN.

This brave, and justly renowned commander, was appointed captain of the Gloucester, of fifty-eight guns, in 1664; and, in the following spring, served as lieutenant of the Royal Charles. The enemies of the duke of York have taken some pains to asperse the character of Sir John Harman, as having been concerned in the business with Brounker, of which we have given an account already. But it must be apparent to any person who will be at the pains of considering the facts, that, let the blame lay where it will, not a shadow of it is imputable to Sir John, whose conduct through life, proved him one of the last men in the world who could, with justice, be charged either with treachery or want of spirit. As a convincing proof that no such opinion was entertained of him by government, he received the honour of knighthood, and is said to have been appointed immediately after the action, rear-admiral of the white, and that he hoisted his flag on board the Resolution. This is probably a mistake, as we find him both in the navy-list, and in every other document, serving, when the fleet put next to sea under the command of the earl of Sandwich, as rear-admiral of the blue, an highly merited, through very rapid, promotion, when we consider that scarcely twelve months had elapsed since he first became a commander. In the month of November, he was detached by the earl of Sandwich, with eighteen ships, to bring home the fleet from Gottenburgh. On his return, he shifted his flag into the Henry, and distinguished himself too remarkably in the long action between the duke of Albemarle and the Dutch, to be passed over in mere common terms of approbation. Leading the van of the fleet, he soon got into the centre of the Zealand squadron; and being in a short time completely disabled, one of the enemy's fire ships grappled him on the starboard quarter: he was, however, freed by the almost incredible exertions of his boatswain, Thomas Lamming, as it is asserted by all historians; but, according to the navy-list, it appears that he was his lieutenant, who, having in the midst of the flames, loosed the grappling-irons, swung back on board his own ship unhurt. The Dutch, bent on the destruction of this unfortunate ship, and seeing the ill success of the first, sent a second, who grappled her on the larboard side, and with greater success than the former, for the sails instantly taking fire, the crew were so terrified, that nearly fifty of them, among whom was the chaplain, jumped overboard. Sir John seeing this confusion, ran instantly with his sword drawn, among those who remained, and threatened, with instant death, the first man who should attempt to quit the ship, or should not exert himself in quenching the flames. This spirited conduct had the proper effect; the crew returned to their duty, and soon got the fire under: but the rigging being a good deal burnt, one of the top-sail yards fell, and broke Sir John's leg. In the midst of this accumulated distress, a third fire-ship prepared to grapple him, but, before she could effect her purpose, four shots from the Henry's lower-deck guns sunk her. Evertzen, the Dutch vice-admiral, now bore up to him, and calling on him to surrender, offered him quarter. Sir John, as we have seen, answered him bluntly, "It was not come to that yet," and giving him a broadside, killed the Dutch commander, which so intimidated the rest of his adversaries, that they declined farther contest. The Henry, shattered as she was, her commander disabled, and great part of her crew killed or wounded, was, nevertheless, carried safely into Harwich, whence, Sir John, having the next day re-fitted her, and hoping to share in the honour of the last day's engagement, put to sea, notwithstanding his broken leg, but the action was over before he reached the fleet. Notwithstanding the excess of his spirit had carried him so far, as to hurry back into the face of danger, the joint admirals, Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, thought it neither prudent, nor humane to suffer him, to go to sea again, till he had recovered from his misfortune; so that on the fleet's going out a second time, his place was supplied by Rear-admiral Sir John Kempthorne. In the month of March 1667, he was sent in the Lyon, a third rate of fifty-eight guns, commander in chief of a squadron destined for the West Indies, with permission to wear the union-flag at his maintop, as soon as he should be clear of the Channel. He arrived at Barbadoes the beginning of June, having under his command seven men of war and two fire-ships, and set sail for Nevis, taking with him four men of war which he found in Carlisle-bay on his arrival.

Having reached Nevis on the 13th, he received intelligence that the French fleet, consisting of three, or four and twenty men of war, was then lying at anchor under Martinico. He now called a council of war, and it was unanimously determined to attack them immediately, before they should have had information of his arrival. Putting to sea that night, he got sight of the French fleet lying close in under Martinico, protected by three considerable forts, which began to fire on our ships as they approached, but without receiving any return. Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, neither stratagem nor insult were of sufficient avail to draw them from their station. The next morning Sir John began the attack; and having silenced the forts, proceeded to attempt the ships, but without success, owing to the wind being at first contrary, and afterwards flattening to a dead calm. On Tuesday the 25th, the wind being favourable, the admiral renewed the attack, and, in a short time, so far succeeded, as to set fire to eight of the enemy's best ships, of which their flag was one. Of those which remained, many were sunk; so that of the whole fleet, two or three only escaped. This success, brilliant as it was, was achieved with but trivial injury to our ships, which were soon rendered again fit for service, and the loss only of fourscore men killed and wounded. The power of farther hostilities on the part of the enemy being taken away, and a general peace being concluded soon afterwards, Sir John shifted his flag into the Defiance, returned to Europe in the January following, and arrived in the Downs with a considerable number of merchant-ships under his convoy on the 7th of April. Disdaining that retirement which his infirmities might appear to demand, he was in the following year appointed rear-admiral of the fleet bound to the Streights, under Sir Thomas Allen, and hoisted his flag on board the St. David. He returned in 1670, probably on account of his ill state of health, which had been much impaired by fatigue and long service. On the commencement of the Dutch war in 1672, he appears to have served, having his flag on board the Royal Charles, as rear-admiral of the blue, rear-admiral of the red, and vice of the blue. In the first of these capacities, he acted at the action off Solebay, and, after the death of the earl of Sandwich, and the removal of Sir R. Holmes, was successively promoted to the two latter. Our author, Dr. Campbell, has represented him, in consequence of his bodily infirmities, as incapable of filling so eminent a station. Nevertheless, his exertion in the second action, when he himself and thirteen ships only were left with Prince Rupert to stem the attack of the whole Dutch fleet under De Ruyter, was such as may convince us that, however disease might have enervated his body, it had no effect whatever on the faculties of his mind. He hoisted his flag on board the London, a second rate of eighty guns; and, after the unfortunate death of Sir E. Spragge, was appointed to succeed him as admiral of the blue. Peace, and the retirement of Sir John, took place almost immediately; and we have no farther account of him.

SIR JOHN HOLMES

The brother of the gallant Sir Robert Holmes, was appointed commander of the Jersey in 1664; and, in the following year, after having first served as lieutenant of the Centurion, was appointed commander of the St. Paul; and, what is somewhat extraordinary, served, in the beginning of the next year, as lieutenant of the same ship. He was in a short time removed into the Bristol; which ship we find him captain of, in the month of August. He was posted in the line of battle, as one of the seconds to his brother, Sir Robert, and, afterwards, commanded at the attack of Bandaris. His conduct, on this occasion, procured him the command of the Triumph, a second rate. He, probably, continued captain of this ship during the remainder of the war, although we find nothing further recorded of him till the year 1668, when he was made commander of the Falcon, and afterwards of the Kent. In 1669 he went out with Sir Thomas Allen, to the Mediterranean, as commander of the Nonsuch. In 1670 he removed into the Bristol; and, in the following year, into the Diamond. During the time he commanded this ship he was fortunate as well as active against the Algerines. In the interval between the 24th of September and the 2d of October, he drove two of the principal Algerine corsairs from their station off Cape Spartel; but the night coming on before he could get near enough to bring them to action, he was not able to effect any thing further against them, except that he compelled one of them to burn one of two prizes which she had taken the day before. On the 2d of October he fell in with two other corsairs, belonging to Sallee; but, as they separated and stood different courses, Captain Holmes was only able to drive one of them ashore, about two leagues to the south of Arzila. Captain Holmes returning to England soon afterwards, was appointed to the Gloucester, one of the squadron under the command of his brother, Sir Robert; and, in the month of March following, he fell in with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and behaved himself as he had been accustomed, with the most singular gallantry. Having boarded the Hollandia, of 54 guns, commanded by their Rear-admiral Van Nes, he carried her, after a very obstinate dispute: but she was unfortunately sunk in a few hours after he had taken possession of her. For this service he received the honour of knighthood, and was promoted to the Rupert, of 64 guns. His gallantry was so conspicuous in the action between Prince Rupert and the Dutch, on the 28th of May

1673, that he is one of those singled out by the prince for particular commendation. In the action of the 11th of August he again proved himself deserving of the prince's particular commendation, as he was one of the thirteen captains who contributed to defend their commander in chief from the very formidable attack made on him, towards the close of the action, by De Ruyter and the whole of his division. He was next made commander of the Royal Charles, the ship on board which Prince Rupert, as commander in chief, hoisted his flag during the first engagement. Peace being concluded very soon afterwards, we meet with nothing further relative to Sir John till the 12th of April 1677, when he was appointed captain of the Montague; and promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief in the Downs, with the privilege of wearing, while on that station, the union flag at his main-top-mast head. On the 26th of March 1678, on the prospect of a rupture with France, he hoisted his flag on board the Royal Charles, as rear-admiral of the fleet in the Narrow seas. We find him, in 1679, commander-in-chief in the Downs; and, on the 23d of July in the same year, he hoisted the union flag, at the main-top, on board the Captain. This, it is thought, had been his flag-ship ever since he had held the command; for, in the navy list, of which we have not the smallest reason to doubt the accuracy, he is said to have gone on board that ship on the 9th of September 1678; which was, probably, his last public service.

SIR CHRISTOPHER MYNGS.

The first information we have been able to acquire of this gallant gentleman is, that he was made commander of the Centurion in the year 1662. In 1664 he was, in rapid succession, captain of the Gloucester, the Portland, and the Royal Oak, and vice-admiral of a fleet destined for the Channel service, under the chief command of Prince Rupert. In the following year, 1665, he hoisted his flag on board the Triumph, as vice-admiral of the white squadron. He served in this capacity during the engagement between the duke of York and Admiral Opdam; and, on the subsequent retirement of the duke of York, he was appointed to serve as vice-admiral of the blue. When the fleet returned into port he shifted his flag into the Fairfax, and a strong squadron of twenty-five sail, formed of the ships in best condition for service, was put under his command, for the protection of our commerce; to which end his activity did not a little contribute. His vigilance is thus described in the Gazettes of that period:—

"*Portsmouth, January* 9, 1665-6. Sir Christopher Myngs, by sending out ships constantly to cruise about, hath kept this coast very free from all the enemy's men of war." Gaz. No. 18.—And again, "The vigilancy of Sir Christopher Myngs is such, that hardly any thing can escape our frigates that come through the Channel." No. 39.

The latter end of January he sailed for the Downs; and by that means entirely broke the measures concerted by the Dutch for the protection of their own trade and the injury of ours. In the middle of February he went to the Elbe for the purpose of convoying home the Hamburgh fleet; a service that he completely effected. When the fleet was assembled under the command of the joint admirals, Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, he removed into the Victory, being appointed, as it is said by some, to serve as vice-admiral of the red. But we have reason to doubt this information, and to suppose that, acting as vice-admiral of the white, he led the van of Prince Rupert's division, which was detached, in consequence of false information, to meet the French fleet. He, consequently, was not present during the three first days of the long battle; but, on the fourth, as though he thought it incumbent upon him to make amends for the time that he had lost, he exerted himself almost beyond what strict duty and gallantry demanded. We cannot do a greater justice to his memory than by giving an account of the manner of his death, extracted from La Vie de Michael De Ruyter:—"Admiral Myngs having received a musket ball in his throat, would not be persuaded to be bound, or to leave the quarter-deck, but held his fingers in the wound, to stop the flowing blood for about half an hour; till another musket ball taking him in the neck, he died, after having given the most signal proofs of his courage to the very last gasp."

SIR JOHN NARBOROUGH.

Sir John Narborough was descended from a family long settled in the county of Norfolk. Having, early in life, taken himself to the sea, he acquired, by his diligence, added to extensive abilities, a celebrity both as a gallant officer and most judicious navigator, which can be equalled only by a few and exceeded by none. He received his first commission as an officer in the navy in the beginning of the year 1664, appointing him lieutenant of the Portland, from which ship he was afterwards removed into the Royal Oak. In 1665 he served as lieutenant successively on board the Triumph, the Royal James, the Old James, and the Fairfax. In 1666 he was made lieutenant of the Victory, Sir E. Spragge's flag-ship; and, as well in testimony of his former services as in reward of his spirit and gallantry exhibited during the long and desperate action in June 1666, between the Dutch and English fleet under Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, was promoted by them to the command of the Assurance, a fourth rate. In the following year he was removed into the Bonadventure; and, in 1669, was appointed to conduct a voyage of discovery to the South Seas, which had been long projected, but, through the intervention of war, and other causes, till now, not carried into execution. The ships destined for this service were, the Sweepstakes, of 36 guns, commanded by Captain Narborough; and the Batchelor Pink, of four guns, by Captain Fleming. The object of the voyage was, to pass through the Streights of Magellan, and make discoveries in the South Seas; which, at that time, were very imperfectly known, and to endeavour, if possible, to establish some commercial intercourse with the natives and inhabitants of that part of the world. Having received their final instructions, the adventurers sailed on the 26th of September; but did not meet with any thing worth relating, or out of the common line of occurrences in voyages of this nature, till the 22d of October 1670, when they reached Cape St. Mary, at the entrance of the Streights of Magellan. Here an intercourse commenced between the natives and the English, who, pursuing their voyage, reached Baldivia without any accident, on the 15th of December following. The Spaniards in that part of the world, ever jealous of the visits of strangers, and with that fear which is ever attached to valuable and ill-defended possessions, secretly beheld Captain Narborough with eyes of distrust and malevolence. Notwithstanding he offered to supply them with a number of articles of which they stood in the greatest need, the governors rejected every offer of friendship and social intercourse, farther than the supply of provisions, of which Captain Narborough, from the length of the voyage, began to be in some want. Thus far, indeed, humanity appears to have overcome natural inclination: but, soon after, when Captain Narborough and his people were flattering themselves that an intercourse might probably be soon established on a cordial footing, the governor of one of the Spanish forts took an opportunity of seizing Lieutenant Armiger, Mr. Fortescue, and two of the English seamen. This step was taken in consequence, as it was pretended, of positive orders from the governor-general of Chili; and their release was peremptorily refused till the Speedwell and her consort should submit to anchor under the guns of the forts. Captain Narborough had too much prudence to comply with this stipulation; and, not having sufficient force to compel the restitution of his officers and people, was constrained to leave them in the possession of the Spaniards; and, repassing the Streights, arrived in England in the month of June 1671. The ship being refitted immediately on her return into port, Captain Narborough was re-appointed to her; but, on the commencement of the second Dutch war in 1672, was taken by the duke of York, who was sensible of his abilities and experience, to serve on board the Prince as lieutenant, or, to speak more properly, as second captain. Sir John Cox, the first captain, was killed on board this ship at the battle of Solebay. The command then devolving on Captain Narborough, he gave a very signal proof of his abilities and zeal for the service of his country, by refitting in a very few hours after she had been so much disabled, that the duke of York was obliged to quit her, and go on board the St. Michael. His conduct on this occasion was deemed so meritorious that it was made the subject of particular commendation in the account of the action published by government. In token of the duke's esteem for him, he immediately appointed him to succeed Sir John Cox, as first captain of the Prince. His royal highness retiring from his command soon afterwards, Captain Narborough was removed into the Fairfax, of 60 guns, and sent to the Streights with a convoy, having under his orders the Scanderoon frigate. He returned in the following spring, and arrived in the Downs with a numerous fleet of merchant ships under his protection, on the 31st of May 1673. He was appointed, immediately on his return, to command the St. Michael: but the earl of Ossory having soon hoisted his flag on board her, as vice-admiral of the red, Captain Narborough was removed, by commission from Prince Rupert, into the Henrietta; and, having received the honour of knighthood, hoisted his flag on board her, as rear-admiral of the red, on the 17th of September following. We meet with nothing more interesting while he continued in this ship, than his having, in the month of March 1673, taken two Dutch privateers of eight guns each. On the 18th of October 1674, he was appointed commander in chief of a squadron sent to the Mediterranean for the purpose of overawing the Tripolines and other piratical states, who began, about this time, to commit depredations and disturb our commerce. He had, as was customary, the privilege allowed him of wearing the union flag at his main-top-mast head, still continuing on board the Henrietta. In the month of April 1675, his complaint to the Tripoline government commenced; these not being redressed, he proceeded to block up the port. On the 10th of July following he had the good fortune to drive on shore and burn one of their capital ships, which had been their rear-admiral, and carried thirty guns. In the course of a few days he destroyed two other vessels of inferior note. On the 31st of August, the attack of a Saitee, which was working into Tripoli, brought on an action, equal, in point of spirit, to one which, from its consequence, might have more attracted the notice of the world. The frigates stationed immediately off the port not being able to get up with her, Sir John manned the boats of the squadron, and got under way with his larger ships, in support of them. The boats succeeded in driving the Saitee on shore, and came to anchor near her, in order to prevent the enemy from getting her off in the morning. The Tripolines, to counteract their attack, manned three gallies and a brigantine, which were at that time in the harbour. On the approach of these, the boats were obliged to retire on board the frigates. In the morning the gallies and brigantine were discovered towing the Saitee towards Tripoli. Sir John Narborough weighed anchor, and standing in shore with the rest of the ships under his command, succeeded in cutting off the gallies from the port. One of them, being forced on shore near Tajura, was set on fire by the Turks themselves; the others flying to the eastward, were driven on shore by the Newcastle. The boats having been twice repelled by the Moorish soldiers, who put off from the shore to defend them, Sir John Narborough went in his barge, to encourage his people on the third attack, which was successful. The Dey intimidated by an attack so undaunted, and which presaged but little security to any of his vessels in a similar situation, began now to make serious overtures for peace. On the 14th of January a still more formidable and decisive attack was made on the Tripoline shipping, by the boats of the squadron under the command of lieutenant, afterwards Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

This exploit, seconded by the destruction and capture of some other vessels and stores, made the Tripolines still more earnest in their application for peace. They persisted as yet, however, in refusing to make such satisfaction as Sir John deemed necessary for the injury that had actually been committed by their corsairs; and Sir John was equally peremptory in resisting all overtures of peace to which this indemnification was not a preliminary article. In the month of February, Sir John, who had removed his flag into the Hampshire, being on a cruise to the eastward of Tripoli, with only one frigate in company, fell in with four of the principal ships of war, which, after the loss the Tripolines had sustained, were now left them. An action commenced; and, after some hours' continuance, with the greatest spirit on both sides, the corsairs having nearly six hundred of their people killed and wounded, fled, with all the sail they could carry, for Tripoli, which they were fortunate enough to reach. These accumulated and repeated defeats and losses, at length, disposed the Dey to listen to Sir John's demands; so that a treaty of peace was concluded between them on the 5th of March, by which the Tripoline government agreed to release all the English captives in their possession, to pay fourscore thousand dollars as a reparation, for the violence they had committed, and to grant the English many other honourable and valuable privileges, which no other nation had ever before possessed or claimed. This contest being thus successfully terminated, Sir John was preparing to return to Europe, when an accident happened which compelled his longer continuance on the station. The people, irritated at the conduct of the Dey, who was charged as having been the cause of the late war, and what they called an ignominious peace, they compelled him to save his life by a very expeditious flight; and Sir John, knowing the treacherous disposition of his new made friends, thought it prudent to get the treaty ratified by the new Dey and the rest of the officers composing their government. This step was effected through the terror of an impending cannonade, and with an additional article, highly flattering to the consequence of the English; and which appeared to promise a longer continuance of peace than they had for some time past experienced. This expedition having been thus brought to an happy issue, Sir John returned to Europe in 1677.

The Algerines, not warned by the recent punishment of their neighbours, began to renew their practice of disturbing our commerce. Sir John Narborough's success and spirited conduct on the former occasion caused him to be chosen as the fittest person to enforce the dictates of justice on the present. He hoisted his flag on board the Plymouth, on the 7th of May, but did not receive his commission, which granted him exactly the same powers as his former did, till the 30th of June. He sailed immediately afterwards, and had scarcely reached his station ere he captured two Algerine ships of war, and liberated two English vessels which had been just before taken by them. This earnest of success, though not of sufficient consequence to incline the Turks to an immediate accommodation, nevertheless, infused additional spirits into the English; and Sir John pursuing his good fortune, in the month of March sunk three and captured another of their principal ships of war. Through these losses the Algerine power at sea was diminished to three or four cruisers; the remainder were laid up for a time, that they might not incur the risk of falling into the hands of an irritated enemy, In the month of August, Sir John having convoyed, with his whole squadron, a very valuable fleet of merchant ships out of all danger from the enemy's cruizers, returned to his station off Algiers; and, in a few days afterwards, burnt, in the road of Cercelli, twelve Algerine vessels laden with corn, and captured two of their remaining ships of war. Following this blow he bore away for Algiers, which he cannonaded with effect, but without being yet able to reduce the pirates to reason. In the month of November 1678, he fell in with a squadron of five Algerine frigates, which the Dey had fitted out for the purpose of obtaining, by the prizes which they should take, some satisfaction for the losses his people had sustained. This hope was, however, of short duration; the whole squadron, consisting of several ships, being, after a short but smart action, carried into Cadiz. In the month of May 1679, Sir John prepared to return to England, with fifteen of his ships that were in the worst condition for service, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 10th of June following, leaving in the Mediterranean Vice-admiral Herbert, afterwards earl of Torrington, to complete a business so successfully and spiritedly begun.

From this time Sir J. Narborough appears to have retired from the line of active service for many years. The last intelligence we have been able to collect relative to his naval life is, that, on the 12th of July 1687, he hoisted his flag on board the Foresight, as admiral of a small squadron. He sailed to the westward in the month of September following, having four ships, besides the Foresight, under his command. The service to which this squadron was destined does not appear; but it is most probable it was only intended as a check to any embarkations that might take place from Holland or any other part of the continent similar to Monmouth's. Of the time of its return, as well as every other particular relative to it, we are totally ignorant. Sir John Narborough died towards the end of the year 1688, and was buried at Knowlton church, in Kent, where a handsome monument is erected to his memory. His son, who was then an infant, was, on the 15th of November 1688, created a baronet by King James II. as a token of his sincere attachment to his deceased father; he was unfortunately drowned, together with his brother and their father-in-law, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, on the 22d October 1707. The estates passed into the family of the D'Aeths, by the marriage between Sir Thomas D'Aeth, Bart. and the daughter and sole heiress of Sir John Narborough.

These were amongst the great men who carried the glory of the English arms so high, and who effectually supported the honour of the flag. If the reader misses the memoirs of some whose actions are mentioned in our history, it is because they belong to another place, in consequence of their having survived this reign, and that unfortunate one which succeeded it; but these are at least the principal heroes to whom were owing our distinguished victories, which raised our reputation so much, extended our commerce so far, and might have brought us much greater advantages, if our domestic divisions had not in some measure frustrated their labours, and defeated our expectations from those naval successes, which all of them hazarded, and many laid down their lives to purchase.* A memorable misfortune this! and which we ought never to forget, if we desire to avoid feeling the effects of so wretched a conduct, with a short explication of which, a necessary comment on what has already been said, we shall conclude this chapter.

The two Dutch wars were very disagreeable to a great part of the nation, through an apprehension of their consequences; and, therefore, the gallant exploits performed by our seamen, and the advantages gained by the last peace, which has secured us from any subsequent quarrels with that nation, were not, at least generally, looked upon in the light they deserved; but such as did their duty, and acted vigorously in their stations, were disliked, and treated as the servile creatures of a court, ready to attempt any thing for which they received orders.

This was, certainly, very injurious usage, and such as must have contributed to sink the spirits of many. The true merit of a soldier, or a seaman, certainly consists in executing vigorously the orders he receives; and things are carried too far, when we pretend to make them accountable for those orders; because, if this maxim should be once established, such consequences must inevitably flow from it, as would be far more detrimental to society, than the affording a certain measure of applause to such gallant actions as might be performed upon wrong principles.

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* The administration, in the beginning of the king's reign, had so little confidence in the parliament, that they parted with Dunkirk, rather than ask for money to keep it. The parliament, toward the close of his reign, had so little confidence in the administration, that they forced him to blow up Tangiers. The first Dutch war was made, by advice of parliament, against the sense of ministers; the second, at the persuasion of ministers, against the sense of parliament: from that time factions prevailed, the public debt began, and public confusion ensued.

Of this I might give a flagrant instance, by referring to Burnet's History, where Sir Robert Holmes is severely censured for doing what a council of war directed; and some persons who had been attainted by parliament, are justified, and commended for assisting the Dutch to invade this nation, and to destroy our ships at Chatham; which is a doctrine of a very dangerous nature, and directly contrary to that true public spirit which ought to influence all men, and all parties, to bear whatever may be required of them for their country's good, and to forbear avenging themselves upon her, whatever provocations, from their rulers, they may receive.

After having pointed out this error on one side, I shall, with equal freedom, lay open one, no less criminal, on the other: I mean the court's too great regard for France, which was highly detrimental to the trade of these nations, and had well nigh been the destruction of our navy. It is a monstrous thing to assert, and yet there are too strong proofs of this truth for us to avoid saying, that the administration in the latter part of King Charles's reign, from the time his notions had a wrong turn given them by the CABAL,* favoured too much the French schemes, for the advancement of their commerce, to the prejudice of ours; in doing which, they issued such orders to the officers of the navy, as made them justly obnoxious to parliament, though very able men in their stations, and thereby created such an alteration in the management of things, as added the ruin of our shipping, to the hurt done our trade: whereas, if the court had acted honestly, and the nation been of one mind, we might certainly have given law to Europe, and become, even then, the greatest maritime power the world ever saw.*

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* This appellation, which will everlastingly remain, was fixed on that ministry by a pamphlet intitled, "England's Appeal from the private Cabal at Whitehall to the Great Council of the Nation." London, 1673, 4to. by Sir W. Coventry. Coke, however, ascribes it to Secretary Trevor.

We lost, by these errors, those advantages at that time; and the sense of this omission ought to be of service to us now. The fleet, at the death of King Charles II. was recovering, indeed, but very slowly. It is time to see how a prince, who took care of nothing else, prosecuted that work with diligence, and raised our navy to a better state than ever it was before.

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* See Andrew Marvell's Growth of Popery, with the lists of ships taken by French privateers, the reports from the committee of council, and the king's orders. See likewise the character of Sir Ellis Leighton, who was intrusted to solicit the restitution of those ships in France, as given by Bishop Burnet, of his own knowledge, vol. i. See also Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs.

CHAP. XVII.

The Naval History of Great Britain, during the Reign of King James II. containing an Account of the Methods made use of for restoring and improving the Fleet; their Success, and the King's Disappointment in his Endeavours to prevent an Invasion from Holland.

FEW princes have struggled with greater difficulties, before they ascended their thrones, than King James II. and few ever sustained a greater load of trouble afterwards. He succeeded his brother the 6th of February, 1685, with the general acclamations of his subjects who expected great things from a king who came to the throne with such advantages. He was then turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and strengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in business. He was an able economist, and, in fine, a prince, who, if he had conducted public affairs with the same ease and dexterity which he shewed in the management of his private concerns, his reign must have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troublesome and unfortunate.

It was his great foible, that he was constantly influenced by foreign councils, which is a thing that the English nation cannot endure; and, indeed, it is impossible they should: for as our constitution differs from the constitution of all the states upon the continent, it is simply impracticable to govern us well, by any other system of politics than our own. King James knew this well enough; and yet his fondness for the Popish religion, threw him into the arms of France, and engaged him, while a subject, to act as a tool; when a king, to rule as a viceroy to Louis XIV. and this at a juncture, when, if he had been of the religion of his fathers, and had complied with the desires of his people, he might have given law to that haughty monarch, and been esteemed the deliverer of Europe. His bigotry blinded him; some of his ministers abused his confidence; till, by a series of bad management, he made his affairs desperate, and lost the affections of his people, which soon lost him all.

Yet, as wrong as his conduct was, in almost every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs, deserves to be transmitted to posterity with just applause. He had long exercised the office of lord high-admiral, in the reign of his brother, and understood it thoroughly; he knew, too, the disorders which had crept into the whole economy of the fleet, in the six years immediately preceding his accession; and he was well acquainted, besides, with the difficulties which the late king had found, in discovering and applying remedies to these mischiefs.

As soon, therefore, as he was seated on the throne, he began to consider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only set right for the present, but also be put into such a settled course, as that they might not suddenly go wrong again. With this view, he consulted Mr. Pepys, and some other considerable persons, on whose abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was necessary to be done, to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he first assigned a stated fund of four hundred thousand pounds a year, payable quarterly out of the treasury, for the service of the navy; and then issued a special commission for settling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into such a method, as might need few or no alterations in succeeding times.

This commission was the wisest act of his whole reign, and answered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be, expected from it. It was grounded, as to form, on a commission which had issued, for the same purpose, in the reign of his grandfather, of which we have taken notice more than once. As the then commissioners of the navy were men of fair character, though they had been so unlucky in the management of their office, the king would not remove them, but caused their names to be inserted in this commission, which superseded their own, with the addition of a few old servants, though new commissioners, on whose skill and vigilance he depended. The old commissioners were, the Lord Viscount Falkland, Sir John Tippets, Sir Richard Haddock, Sir Phineas Pett, Sir John Narborough, Mr. Southerne, Sir Richard Beach, Sir John Godwin: the new ones, Sir Anthony Dean, Sir John Berry, Mr. Hewer, and Mr. St. Michael. This commission was dated the 17th of April, 1686, and by it the commissioners were directed to inquire into, and remedy all the disorders that were then in the navy, to restore it, in every respect, to good order, and from time to time to report the proceedings to his Majesty and the privy-council, as they were particularly enjoined in that commission.*

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* The whole of this account is taken from Mr. Pepys's Memoirs relating to the state of our royal navy of England; wherein he tells us, that the following qualifications were chiefly considered in the choice of the new commissioners, pursuant to a memorial addressed by him to the king, and which was drawn by his master's express directions; *viz.*

"1. A practised knowledge in every part of the works and methods of your navy, both at the board, and in your yards. The not discerning of which (and the others that follow), appears to have cost your royal brother and you, within the forementioned five years, above half a million. 2. A general mastery in the business and accounts, though more particularly those incident to the affairs of your navy. 3. Vigour of mind, joined with approved industry, zeal, and personal aptness for labour. 4. An entire resignation of themselves, and their whole time to this your service, without liableness to avocation from other business or

The commissioners vested with these powers lost no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inspection into the state of the navy, inquired strictly into the causes of past miscarriages, with respect rather to things than men, and taking such measures for the immediate remedy of the mischiefs they discovered, that the old ships were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and amended; the yards properly supplied with the ablest workmen; all the store-houses filled with whatever was requisite, bought at the best hand, and, in all respects, the best in their kind; the estimates brought into proper order, and the whole economy of the navy reduced into so clear a method, that it was impossible any officer could be ignorant of, or mistaken in, his duty, the public service suffer in any of its various branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated, without an immediate discovery of the offender.*

That all this might more fully and indisputably appear, besides the reports directed by the commission being duly made, the commissioners engaged his Majesty to visit, in person, the yards, docks, storehouses, &c. which, considering his perfect acquaintance with naval affairs, made it impossible he should be deceived; and then, having demonstrated the justice of their conduct, by leaving the navy much increased, in perfect order, and with sea-stores valued at four hundred thousand pounds, they laid

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pleasure. 5. Lastly, such credit with your Majesty for integrity and loyalty, as may, with the former conditions, lead both yourself, and my lord treasurer, to an entire confidence of having all done, that can be morally expected from them, in the advancement of your service, and the circumspect and orderly dispensing and improving of your treasure."

* The regulations, in respect to naval affairs, when the king himself acted as admiral, assisted only by Mr. Pepys, as secretary, at five hundred pounds *per annum* salary, are allowed, by all seamen, to be as judicious and effectual, and, at the same time, as gentle, and as practicable, as can be desired.

down their posts, their commission being superseded with a just approbation of their conduct, by letters patent under the great seal, October 12, 1688. Thus, in little more than two years time, this great reform was made, all the officers of the navy in general paid to a farthing, and a saving made to the public, of three hundred and seven thousand five hundred and seventy pounds, nine shillings and four pence; and this for the inconsiderable expence of six thousand pounds paid to the new commissioners.

While this commission subsisted, the king issued new instructions to the officers commanding his ships of war: these are dated the 15th of July, 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public service, securing discipline, and preserving proper memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains, and superior officers, to deposit a perfect copy of their journals with the secretary of the admiralty. As many things in these regulations might seem to bear hard upon commanders, and to deprive them of those emoluments which their predecessors had long enjoyed, his Majesty was pleased to grant them very considerable favours; such as a settled allowance for their tables,* several advantages in respect to prizes, &c. and, in the close, graciously condescended to promise to take special notice of, and

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* The reader may form a proper conception of the importance of this regulation, by considering the following table; which shews the proportion maintained in this new allowance, so as to make it a just equivalent for the perquisites taken away by this instruction.

Rate.	Present wages.		Present victualling.			Additional grant for his table.	
	l.	s.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.
1	273	15	12	3	4	250	0
2	219	0	12	3	4	200	0
3	182	0	12	3	4	166	5
4	136	10	12	3	4	124	5
5	109	10	12	3	4	100	0
6	91	0	12	3	4	83	0

amply to reward, every instance of courage, care, or diligence, in any of his officers, upon proper attestations deposited with the secretary of the admiralty.

We need not wonder, that, in consequence of so unwearied an attention, the British fleet was in very good order when King James had the first notice of the prince of Orange's design; but we may be justly surprised at the strange management of maritime affairs from that time. A squadron of ships was indeed immediately ordered to sea under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, then rear-admiral of England, who was, perhaps, the most improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the seamen, by the readiness he had shewn in bringing priests on board the fleet.* His squadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned; and when he complained of it, and desired to have soldiers at least sent on board, even this was very slowly complied with, considering the importance of the service.

By his instructions he was to have remained in the Downs; but conceiving that to be a very improper station for the service he was expected to perform, after consulting with the captains in whom he could best confide, he certified as much to the court, and offered it as his and their opinion, that it would be better for the fleet to remain at the buoy of the gun-fleet, near Harwich. The king, as soon as he received this advice, sent for Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry, Captain John Clements, the three elder brothers of the Trinity House at Deptford, and Mr. Pepys, to whom he communicated Sir Roger Strickland's letter, and, in consequence of their joint advice, sent the admiral orders to sail out of the Downs with the first easterly wind, and place himself between the north Sand-head and the Kentish Knock, there to continue under sail in the day-time, and at anchor in the night, in order to observe the Dutch fleet, and to gain the best intelligence of them he could, in pursuance of the instructions which were then sent him.

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* Hornsby's Caveat against the Whigs, p. ii. v. 50. where the author tells us, that, on the first celebrating mass on board one of his Majesty's ships, it occasioned such an uproar and mutiny in the fleet, that it was as much as the officers could do, to prevent the sailors from sacrificing the priests to Neptune.

When the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was directed to retire to the buoy in the Nore, and Lord Dartmouth was ordered to sea with such a reinforcement as made the whole fleet under his command consist of forty men of war, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire-ships. This fleet being at the gun-fleet, and ready in all respects to sail, a council of war was called, wherein Sir William Jennings, who commanded a third rate, proposed to put to sea, and stand over to the Dutch coasts, as the shortest and surest way to prevent an invasion. This proposition, however, was rejected by a great majority, and so it was resolved to continue there. The true ground of this, as Mr. Secretary Burchet fairly tells us was, the secret resolution of the greatest part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in case he had come up with the Dutch fleet, from doing them much damage: and thus it appears how ineffectual fleets and armies are, when princes have lost the confidence of those who serve in, or command them.

It may not now be amiss to cast our eyes over to Holland, in order to consider the force preparing there for this invasion. His Highness the prince of Orange had about his person abundance of English noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the Lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Pawlet, Elan, and Dumblain, Admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, Colonel Sidney, Mr. Russel, Sir Rowland Gwyn, Major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harbord, Mr. Ferguson, and, besides the general officers of the States, the Marshal Schomberg, Count Charles, his son Mr. Caillemotte, younger son to the marquis of Rouvigni, and two or three hundred French refugees. The fleet that was to carry these consisted of about fifty sail, most of them third or fourth rates, and the transports were about five hundred. These, with twenty-five fire-ships, made up the whole navy: the land-forces embarked, were four thousand horse and dragoons, and ten thousand foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the captains of these vessels were Dutch, yet the chief command was given to Admiral Herbert, who very lately commanded the English fleet; and this with a view either to engage ships to come over, or at least to encourage the seamen to desert.

In order to do this more effectually, Herbert first addressed a letter to his countrymen in the sea-service, and then stood with the Dutch fleet over to the Downs, in order to look at the English squadron, and try what effects his exhortations had produced. At that time his success did not promise much; and, after a fortnight's cruizing, he returned to the Dutch coasts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worse of his own, than when he sailed. But, for all this, his epistle did almost as much service as the force he commanded; for, though the desertion was inconsiderable, yet, by degrees, the sailors lost their spirits, and their officers began to cabal, and to consult, not how they should execute the orders they had received, but how they might best take their measures to secure the fleet.

On the 19th of October, 1688, the prince went on board, and the whole fleet sailed that night; but the next day, the wind turning north, and then settling in the north-west, it was found impossible to struggle with it, and, therefore, on the 21st the fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a storm. On the 1st of November the fleet sailed again. The prince intended to have gone northwards, and to have landed his forces in the mouth of the Humber; but a strong east wind rendered this impracticable, and seemed to direct them to a better course. His Highness then sailed westward, the same wind which brought him to the English coast keeping in the king's ships, though they were come down so low as the gun-fleet. There in a foggy day they passed the English navy undiscerned, except a few transports which sailed in sight, while the English fleet rode with their yards and top-masts down, and could not, by reason of the extraordinary violence of the wind, purchase their anchors.

On the 4th of November at noon, it was resolved on board the Dutch fleet, that part of the ships should go into Dartmouth, and the rest into Torbay; but in the night the pilots overshot both, and then it was determined to go into Plymouth, which, if they had done, might have proved fatal; but the wind, suddenly turning from east to south, corrected the error of their pilots, and brought them safe into Torbay, where the army was immediately landed, and the prince made the necessary dispositions for drawing the country gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him.

As soon as the wind would permit, the earl of Dartmouth, a gallant, loyal, and active officer, weighed with the English fleet, and stood to sea with a resolution to follow and fight the Dutch. Secretary Burchet and Bishop Burnet seem to contradict each other in what they say on this subject. The secretary informs us, that Lord Dartmouth came before Torbay with his fleet, and gave the Dutch an opportunity of seeing what his strengh might have enabled him to do, if he had inclined to treat them as enemies. The prelate on the contrary says, that Lord Dartmouth assured him some time after, that, whatever stories the Dutch might have heard either of officers or seamen, he was confident they would have fought very heartily.

This seeming contradiction may, however, be easily reconciled; for the disposition of fighting is to be referred to the time when the English first got to sea; and then, if they had come up with the Dutch fleet, it is very probable they had come to blows, and the business had been decided by a battle: but when the wind, turning to the south, carried the prince's fleet into Torbay, it forced the English fleet back, and, afterwards rising into a storm, ruffled them so much, that it was two or three days before Lord Dartmouth came again before Torbay; and then it was that, as Mr. Burchet says, he shewed the Dutch a fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The seamen had time in this space to consider what they were doing, and such of the officers, as were well affected to the prince's design, had an opportunity of working upon them, and disposing things for his service; and thus that naval force, which the king had cultivated with so great care, and on which he depended so much, proved of little or no use, as well as his army: so difficult a thing it is to bring Englishmen to enslave England!

As to the conduct of the king after the arrival of the Dutch fleet, it was so unaccountable in itself, and so much has been said of it by other writers, that it is absolutely unnecessary for me to insist upon it: I shall only observe, it was very strange that he paid so little attention to the fleet, since, if we except the care he took in sending away his family, it does not appear, that he issued any orders relating thereto; which will seem still the more extraordinary, if we consider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whose fidelity he could absolutely depend, but also an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the sailors. In all probability, he was deterred from taking any measures of this sort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the service of the royal navy rose on a sudden, and, without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out a regiment of regular troops quartered at Rochester and Chatham, and declared for the Protestant religion, and the Prince of Orange.

It is also not improbable, that the king was discouraged from making any applications to the seamen, in whom he had formerly shewn much confidence, by the revolt of Guernsey and Jersey, where the people, and especially the sailors belonging to the vessels in their harbours, seized several Popish officers, who had been sent thither to discipline their militia, and on other pretences; and this upon the first news of the invasion here. To say the truth, the sea-faring people all over the nation, but particularly in Bristol and London, declared unanimously and vehemently against his measures, and did all in their power to prevent the most obnoxious of his ministers, such as Chancellor Jefferies, and Father Petre, from making their escape; which can be attributed to nothing but the just sense they had of the iniquitous measures these people had pursued; for, as to themselves, they had no particular grievances.

But, what is still more strange, the king made no use of the French power at sea, though he was in the strictest alliance with that court. A French fleet, if fitted out at that juncture, might have made the Dutch more cautious, even while this invasion was under their deliberation, or if a French squadron had joined his own navy, as in his brother's time, when we were engaged in the last Dutch war, this must have had a great weight: for though, in the former case, the French squadrons, as we have shewn, never did any good, yet now the circumstances of things being altered, and the French king so nearly concerned in breaking a confederacy, which he knew to be forming against him, and of which this was the first apparent act, as well as in succouring so firm and so useful an ally, there is reason to believe his officers and seamen would have acted heartily and harmoniously.*

Besides, the French naval power, without our king's assistance, was now become quite another thing than it was in the Dutch war, since very lately they had fought the Dutch upon equal terms in the Mediterranean with honour, and consequently were capable of fighting them elsewhere, as the States very well knew, and would have been unwilling to run any such hazard. But, above all, in so delicate a conjuncture, the appearance of a large French fleet would have compelled his own to fight, and in all probability would have raised again the spirits of the timid, and put suspected captains on exerting themselves to wipe away the imputations of their enemies. The engaging the Dutch on any terms, was that at which he ought chiefly to have aimed; for an action must have done him service, by rousing the spirits of his sailors, who would then have banished all diffidence, and considered nothing but the support of the English reputation. These obvious advantages he missed, either from a strong persuasion that his own force was more than sufficient to repel the invaders, or, as it is commonly reported, by the advice of the earl of Sunderland, who dicouraged the having recourse to foreign assistance, from arguments drawn from the king and nation's safety; and so the king, when he wanted them most, had not either a fleet of his own or of his allies at his devotion; which if he had, it is not improbable he might have turned the tables again, and forced the Dutch off the coast.

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* There are two causes assigned for this conduct of the French: the first, that Barillon, the French ambassador here, assured his master it would cost a long and bloody civil war to dethrone King James; so that he might take his own time to relieve him: the second, that his minister, M. De Louvois, led by his own interests, turned the arms of France against the house of Austria, which left the republic of Holland at full liberty to employ their fleet and forces in the service of the prince of Orange.

The mistakes committed on this side were heightened in their appearance by the great caution and wise management on the other, as well as by the foreseen and unforeseen consequences of the whole transaction. The embarkation was made with ease; the passage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the descent in the fittest place in England for landing of horse; so that it was performed without difficulty as well as without danger. Bishop Burnet, therefore, says truly, that these lines from Claudian were very happily applied to the prince of Orange's expedition:

O nimium dilecte Deo! cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

"Oh heaven-protected chief! whom skies defend,
"And on whose call submissive winds attend."

In Holland they triumphed on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the States, and the most eminent news-writer they then had, made this observation on the success of the prince's enterprise, in his reflections on the history of Europe for November 1688: "The expence bestowed on the fleet and army, set out from Holland, is a sign they are morally assured of the success of the expedition, which, I am apt to think, has been a long time in agitation, though it was carried on with that prudence and secrecy, as not to be discovered till it could be no longer concealed." When skill, industry, and zeal, were visibly on the part of the prince, and weakness, irresolution, and diffidence, apparent in all the king's measures, it was impossible things should continue long in dispute, or that his highness, who knew so well how to use all the advantages that were in his hands, should not prevail.

When Lord Dartmouth saw the disposition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to serve his master, he wisely yielded to necessity; and, sailing once again into the Downs, he held a council of war, when it was resolved first, to dismiss from their commands, all such officers as were known to be Papists, or suspected so to be, and then to send up an address to his highness, setting forth their steady affection to the Protestant religion, and their sincere concern for the safety, freedom, and honour, of their country. Not long after this, the ships were dispersed, some to the dock-yards to be dismantled and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired, and such as were in the best condition for the sea, were appointed for necessary services.

These were all the exploits performed by the English navy during the reign of a prince, who, while a subject, had served and acquired a reputation at sea, who understood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this fleet was useless to him, yet it was of the highest advantage to the nation. If he had been less careful in this respect, if he had left the navy in a low condition, nay if he had left it as he found it at his brother's decease, it would have been impossible for us to have withstood the naval power of France, which had been for several years growing, and about the time of the revolution, or a little before it, had attained to it greatest height.

As it was, the king left behind him as numerous, and in every respect as complete and well-furnished a navy, as England had ever seen; so that, when the French came out with such a strength as amazed all the world, it surprised, indeed, but did not fright us; we were quickly in a condition to look them in the face: and the subsequent part of this work will shew, that notwithstanding the mighty change that had happened in a short time abroad, and the pains almost every where taken to create a naval force, yet we were as able to assert our sovereignty in our own seas, and to maintain the honour of our flag every where else, as in any preceding period.

In the note will be found an exact account of the fleet, and of the condition in which it was left by King James, in order to prove what has been before asserted, and to prepare the reader for the history of those actions at sea, which followed in the next reign.*

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*ABSTRACT OF THE LIST OF THE ROYAL NAVY OF ENGLAND,

Upon the 18th of December, 1688, with the force of the whole.

Ships and Vessels.		Force.	
Rates.	Number.	Men.	Guns.
1	9	6705	878
2	11	7010	974
3	39	16,545	2640
4	41	9480	1908
5	2	260	60
6	6	420	90
Bombers,	3	120	34
Fire-ships,	26	905	218
Hoys,	6	22	0
Hulks,	8	50	0
Ketches,	3	115	24
Smacks,	5	18	0
Yachts	14	353	104
Total,	173	42,003	6930

Of these 173 ships, 110 were ships of the line, including fourth rates, which were, in those days, considered as ships of the line. The tonnage was 101,032.

CHAP XVIII.

The Naval History of Great Britain, under the Reign of King William III. from the Revolution to the Peace of Ryswick.

THE crown was no sooner placed on the head of the Prince of Orange, than he began to feel the weight of it, and experience all the cares that necessarily attend it; he had not much leisure to taste in peace the first moments of royalty, but found himself obliged to embark in a war, as soon as he was seated on the throne. A war in which all Europe was engaged, and engaged in point of interest; for the ambitious designs of Louis XIV. were now so evident, that even the powers least inclined to action, saw themselves obliged to provide for their own safety, by entering into a confederacy for effectually opposing the encroachments of that aspiring prince.

The French king, on the other hand, instead of discovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began first, by falling upon the empire, and declaring war against Spain, at the same time that he provided for his ally, King James, whom he sent over into Ireland, with a considerable force, escorted by a fleet of thirty sail of men of war, and seven frigates.* On the 12th of March, 1688-9, that monarch landed at Kingsale, from whence he went to Corke. On the fourteenth, M. De Lausun landed with five thousand French auxiliaries, and King James sent over General M'Carthy, and as many Irish to France. In the note is an exact list of the French fleet taken at the time, and which, therefore, seems very worthy of being inserted.*

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* Sir John Reresby, in his Memoirs, p. 332, says, the French king, on this occasion, furnished King James with a squadron of fourteen men of war, six lesser frigates, and three fire-ships, all well manned and fitted; eight experienced field officers, one hundred of inferior note, a guard of one hundred Swiss, a corps of skilful pioneers, 15,000 of his own natural subjects, arms for 40,000 more, cannon and ammunition, in great abundance; 200,000l. in money, 50,000 pistoles as a present for that prince's

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private use, with plate, tents, and a most royal and splendid equipage, with an offer of 15,000 French troops, which King James declined accepting, saying, he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt.

* LIST OF THE FRENCH FLEET IN KINGSALE BAY, MARCH 12. 1619.

Commanders.	Ships' Names.	Guns.	Men.
Lt.-General le Marq. de Antreville,	L'	62	420
Chefs d'Escadres			
Le Chev. De Flaiour	Le Glorieux	50	380
Le Mq. De Relinguess	Le Serieux	60	370
Le Mq. De Nesmond	Le Constant	54	370
Captains.			
Les Sieurs			
D'Amblement	Le Henry	64	400
D'Hannault	Le Furieux	60	250
De Septeme	L'Ardent	62	370
De Machard	Le Bourbon	62	370
De Belleisle	Le Marquis	56	330
De Belfontaine	Le Prince	58	350
De Reald	Le Courageux	60	350
De Mobrane	L'Excellent	60	350
De la Hattlcloire	Le Fort	58	350
De Septeville	L'Entreprenant	60	350
De Bidaw	L'Aquillon	58	330
De Chaseur	Le Vermandois	58	350
Du Palaise	Le Bon	54	300
De Galisoniere	Le Maure	54	270
Colebert	Le Sage	50	300
D'Allis	Le François	46	250
De France	Le Trident	52	375
De Champigny	Le Brave	56	350
De Renault Huet	Le Temeraire	54	330
De Serguinge	Le Diamant	54	300
De Florin	Le Neptune	48	330
De St. Maure	L'Arc en Ciel	54	250
* * * * * * * * *	L'Arrogant	58	250

It was upon this occasion, that the impolitic and inconsiderate management in the two last reigns, in respect to the correspondence held between our princes and the French king, manifestly appeared by the prodigious growth of his naval power. Under the administration of the great Cardinal Richlieu, France was so weak in this respect, that this high-spirited minister was forced, in very pressing terms, to solicit assistance from the Swedes; and, even in this reign, the Protector Cromwell had shewn the utmost contempt for the French power at sea. To speak the truth, it was our wars with the Dutch, in the reign of King Charles II. that, as the French themselves confess, gave them first an opportunity of learning, at the expence of the maritime powers, what it was to make a figure on an element with which before they were little acquainted. This knowledge they so far improved, by sometimes siding with the Dutch, and sometimes with us, that in the space of less than twenty years, they found themselves able to deal with either nation, and in 1676, actually beat the Dutch and the Spanish fleets in conjunction, in the Mediterranean, and killed the famous Admiral De

Commanders.	Ships' Names.	Guns.	Men.
De Genlis	L'Imperfait	44	250
De Chateau Morant	Le St. Michael	60	230
Baron des Ardess	Le Faulcon	36	200
De Pontis	La Courtizane	64	370
Des Auguere	Le Jolli	36	200
Des Hainault	Le Moderne	50	300
De la Rougere	Le Sans Pareil	58	250
De la Guiche	Le Palmier	36	200
Baron	L'Alcion	36	200
Europin	L'Opiniatre	36	200
		1958	11495
	Besides 4 Fire-ships, 6 Flotes, 3 other ships of St. Louis,	265	1710
	Total of men and guns,	2243	13305

Ruyter.* At this time, they were grown so much stronger, that we shall see them during a great part of this reign, endeavouring to dispute the empire of the sea against the joint forces of both the maritime powers; which is sufficient to shew, with how great disadvantage King William entered into the war, in this respect: since, while the enemy took all advantages of pouring supplies into Ireland, his affairs in England were so perplexed, that it was some time before he could provide so much as a force sufficient to cruise on the coast of that island.

At last, Admiral Herbert, who commanded the English fleet, in the beginning of the month of April,

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* The inquisitive reader may find a succinct view of the rise and progress of the French naval power, under the reign of Louis XIV. in Father Daniel's Histoire de la Milice Françoise, liv. xiv. chap. vii. But, to place this matter in the clearest light, and to give the English reader a competent idea of the French force at sea, as well as to enable him to judge for himself, which none of our naval writers have done, of the comparative strength of the English and French fleets and squadrons, I shall here give an exact abstract of the state of the French fleet, as it stood in 1681; and it was even in a better condition at the beginning of the war, and to this, recourse may be had on all occasions.

ABSTRACT OF THE FRENCH FLEET.

Rates.	Force.	Number.	Cannon.	Superior Officers.	Naval Officers.	Seamen.	Soldiers.	Whole Crew.
1	120 to 70 guns	12	1080	108	1232	4132	2486	7850
2	70 to 56	21	1518	189	1719	4470	2661	8850
3	56 to 40	36	1928	251	2350	6142	3008	11500
4	40 to 30	26	1088	156	1167	2713	1570	5450
5	28 to 18	20	608	119	681	1427	682	2790
	Total....	179	6222	823	7149	18884	10407	36440
Light frigates, 20 to 16		24	400	125	446	937	497	1880
Bomb vessels and fire-ships		8	74	16	80	160		240
Barks		10	43	20	90	190		280
Flutes		22	341	44	190	447		637
	Total....	197	7080	1028	7955	20618	10904	39477

Exclusive of 30 gallies, on board which were above 3000 men.

1689, sailed for Corke, with a squadron which consisted of no more than twelve ships of war, one fireship, two yachts, and two smacks. Here he received information, that King James had landed at Kingsale, about two months before, He then thought it proper to attempt cutting off the convoy that had attended him from France: with this view he sailed for Brest, and cruized off that port for some time; but hearing nothing of the French men of war from the advice boats he daily received, and having increased his force to nineteen sail, of which, however, one was but a small frigate, he again steered for the Irish coast, and towards the latter end of April appeared off Kingsale.

On the 29th of that month he discovered a fleet of forty-four sail, which he judged were going into Kingsale, and therefore did his utmost to prevent it. The next day he heard that the enemy were gone into Baltimore, but, upon coming thither, found that information to be false. The wind being then easterly, he stood for Cape Clear, and in the evening he saw them standing into Bantry-bay. He lay off that place till morning, and about break of day resolved to attack the enemy. All our English writers of naval history agree, that the French fleet had some empty transports under their care, but the French writers, who should certainly best know what their fleet was doing, say positively, that they had only four merchant ships laden with arms, bridles, saddles, powder and ball, for the use of King James's army, and a considerable sum of money, which was on board the men of war. This they shipped, as soon as they perceived the English fleet, on board six fire-ships, and sent these, with the merchantmen before-mentioned, to land their supplies at a place in the bay seven leagues distant, while they engaged the English squadron, that, at all events, they might be safe.

Authors vary not a little as to the strength of both fleets, which I take to be rather owing to partiality than any real difficulty there was of coming at the fact. Mr. Burchet says, the English were but nineteen ships in all. Bishop Kennet more truly reckons them twenty-two, wherein he agrees with all the French relations. The enemy's fleet consisted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight, according to their own, of no more than twenty-four sail. The English had certainly the wind, and might, therefore, have avoided fighting, if they had so pleased; but this was by no means agreeable to Admiral Herbert's temper; he, therefore, endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a close engagement: but the French saved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three divisions, about ten in the morning on the 1st of May. The foremost division consisted of eight ships, under the command of M. Gaberet; the second, of the like force, was commanded by Admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which was also of eight ships, had, for its commander, M. Forant. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours, but then slackened, because a great part of the English fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both sides till about five in the afternoon, Admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to sea, because he found the dispute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could possibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But, about the hour before mentioned, the French fleet stood into the bay, which put an end to the fight. The English writers ascribe this either to want of courage, or to the admiral's being restrained by his orders; but the French inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ships under his convoy, and that, after they had entirely debarked the supply they had brought, he disposed every thing in order to put to sea the next morning, which he did.

This is the battle in Bantry-bay, which, though inconsiderable enough in itself, since the English, who had certainly the worst of it, lost only one captain, one lieutenant, and ninety-four men, and had not more than three hundred wounded, is yet magnified by some writers into a mighty action. The French had one ship, called the Diamond, set on fire, and two others so much damaged as to be obliged to draw out of the line. The affair was certainly very inconsiderable, and any advantage that was gained was rather to be ascribed to a favourable wind and superior force on one side, than to any want either of courage or conduct on the other.

After the action Admiral Herbert bore away for the Scilly islands, and, having cruized there for some time, returned to Spithead; upon which occasion King William went down in person to Portsmouth; where, to shew that he would distinguish and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by success, he declared Admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted Captain John Ashby of the Defiance, and Captain Cloudesley Shovel of the Edgar; giving, at the same time, a bounty of ten shillings to each seaman, and making a provision for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of Captain Ailmer, and for the rest of the widows of such as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by that prince, and was, indeed, an act of his own, flowing from the thorough knowledge he had of mankind, and the necessity there is of keeping up the spirits of seamen, if we expect they should perform great things. He said, when he read the account of the battle of Bantry-bay, that such actions were necessary at the beginning of a war, though they would be rash in the course of it; which shews his great penetration, and accounts for his creating Admiral Herbert a peer, after an affair in which he had certainly no advantage.

The fleet being at length refitted, the admiral sailed with it for Torbay, in the middle of June; where he was afterwards joined by a Dutch fleet, and by Vice-admiral Killegrew's squadron, which had been cruizing before Dunkirk. This combined fleet stood over to the coast of France, and continued cruizing there and in the soundings till towards the latter end of August; and being then in great want of beer, and there being not the least appearance of the French putting to sea, they returned to Torbay; where, soon after, the fleet separated, the larger ships which wanted repair being ordered into port, and the rest distributed into several squadrons for different services.* Before we speak more particularly of these, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by some other squadrons, which had been detached earlier in the year.

When King James landed in Ireland, his affairs had certainly a very promising aspect on that side. He brought with him a very considerable supply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men complete. There were but two places in the north which held out against him; *viz.* Londonderry and Inniskilling. Of these he determined to make himself master, and might easily have done it if he had been well advised; but, as Bishop Burnet justly observes, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils. He resolved to begin with Londonderry, in respect to which two proposals were made him; the first was, to attack the place vigorously, and take it as soon as possible by storm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in such a manner as might best suit his interest, till this place should, by dint of famine, be compelled to surrender. Either of these methods might have succeeded, but King James declined these, and made choice of a third, which was, to take the place by a slow siege, in order to inure his Irish army to fatigues, and to render them, by this kind of discipline, more fit for service. This resolution of his gave sufficient time for an application to the government in England; and, upon this, two regiments of foot, under the command of Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards, with some supplies, were sent thither: they arrived on the 15th of April in the Lough; but Colonel Lundy, who was governor of the town, being, as it was commonly believed, in King James's interest, persuaded those gentlemen that it was impracticable to defend the place, and that, therefore, the best thing they could do was to return and preserve his Majesty's troops, which they accordingly did. The townsmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble defence, which gained time for another application to England.

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* Bishop Burnet complains, that during this year there was nothing considerable done at sea, and according to his manner insinuates I know not what of treason or treachery, or something very black in it. But the truth seems to be, the funds were lately established, and the government itself but half settled, which occasioned the fleets being ill-manned, poorly victualled, and worse paid.

During this space, Commodore Rooke, who had been sent with a squadron, in the month of May, to the coast of Ireland, performed all that could be expected from him there, by keeping King James and his army from having any intercourse with the Scots; and, on the 8th of June, he sailed in with the Bonaventure, Swallow, Dartmouth, and a fleet of transport ships, under the command of Major-general Kirke, who was come with this force to relieve Londonderry. The commodore concurred with him, as it was his duty, very cheerfully in carrying on this service. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy to prevent their relieving the place, they found they had laid a boom across the river, composed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being strong redoubts at each end, well provided with cannon. Upon a view of this, General Kirke resolved to make himself master of the Inch, an island in Lough Swilly, in which the commodore assisted him so effectually, that, on the 16th he was in full possession not only of that island, but of the pass to the main; and, having performed this service, he returned to his station.

He continued there till the 22d, on which day he received, by the Portland man of war, a letter from the general, wherein he informed him, that, being satisfied the place was reduced to the last extremity, he was determined to attempt its relief at any rate. The commodore, upon this, left the Bonaventure and Portland on his station, and, with the Deptford and Dartmouth, sailed to the assistance of the major-general. He sent the Dartmouth, commanded by Captain, afterwards Sir John, Leake, up to Kilmore to receive his orders, and then returned to the Bonaventure and Portland, with intention to continue there till the arrival of the three ships which he expected from the earl of Torrington. With this assistance Major-general Kirke, having properly disposed the men of war, on the 30th of July sent the Mountjoy, of Derry, Captain Browning, and the Phœnix, of Colraine, Captain Douglas, both deeply laden with provisions, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The Irish army made a prodigious fire upon these ships as they passed, which was very briskly returned, till the Mountjoy struck against the boom and broke it, and was by the rebound run ashore; upon this the Irish gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon, and, with their boats, attempted to board her. But the sailors firing a broadside, the shock loosened her so that they floated again, and passed the boom; as did the Phœnix also, under cover of the Dartmouth's fire. This seasonable supply saved the remains of that brave garrison, which, after a hundred and five days close siege, and being reduced from seven thousand five hundred to four thousand three hundred, had subsistence for only two days left, the enemy raising the siege on the last of July.

Commodore Rooke, on the 13th of August, escorted the duke of Schomberg's forces, consisting of upwards of ten thousand men, horse, and foot, embarked in ninety vessels of several sorts, and landed them safe in Groom's-bay, near Carrickfergus, whither he brought the remainder of the army and the artillery, and then continued with the general, till he had taken the town, and had not any farther occasion for his assistance. He stationed afterwards as many ships and yachts of his squadron as he thought requisite for maintaining the correspondence between England and Ireland, and preventing any attempt that might be made by French or Scots privateers. He sailed next with those few ships that were remaining to Dublin, where he insulted the city by manning his boats, and making a shew of landing; and on the 18th of September, he actually endeavoured to burn all the vessels that were in the harbour, and would have certainly performed it, if the wind had not veered about, and blew a fresh gale, as the yachts and ketches were going in, which obliged him to abandon his design and put to sea. King James was at this time in the place, and, which is still more, was also an eye-witness of this bold attempt.

From the bay of Dublin Commodore Rooke sailed to Cork, where he attempted likewise going into the harbour, but was prevented by the brisk fire which the enemy made from their batteries, on which were mounted seventeen or eighteen pieces of cannon. He took possession, however, of the great island, and might have done farther services if his ships had not, by this time, grown foul, and his provisions low; which forced him to quit his station, and repair to the Downs, where he arrived on the 13th of October, after having given, by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earnest of the great things which he afterwards performed when Sir George Rooke, and admiral and commander in chief of the British fleet.

As to the remaining naval transactions of this year, they were not either many or great; and, therefore, I shall only mention the taking of two celebrated sea-officers in the French service; *viz.* the gallant Chevalier Fourbin, and the famous John du Bart. They commanded two small frigates, and had under their convoy six rich merchantmen, homeward-bound. Near the Isle of Wight they were chaced by two of our fifty-gun ships, which they engaged very bravely, though they saw that it was a thing impossible for them to avoid being taken. All they aimed at was, to give their merchantmen time to escape, in which they succeeded; for, while they fought desperately, the vessels under their convoy got safe into Rochelle. As for the Chevalier Fourbin and Captain Bart, they were carried prisoners into Plymouth, from whence they, not long after, found means to escape, and got safely over to Calais. For this generous action the French king rewarded each of them with the command of a man of war: but our writers of naval history have been so careless, that I cannot find, with any certainty, who the captains were that took them. We have, indeed, a much more particular relation of this affair in Fourbin's memoirs, wherein it is said they had twenty merchantmen under their convoy; that they fought two long hours, and that one of the English captains was killed in the engagement; but I think the relation, as I have given it, is more to be depended upon, as it comes from an unbiassed, and at the same time a very accurate historian.

In the sessions of parliament, in the winter of 1689, there were many and loud complaints made of the conduct of affairs at sea, which bore hard on the new commission of admiralty, composed of the earl of Torrington, the earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir John Chichely, Sir John Lowther, and Mr. Sacheverel; who, in defence of their own characters, laid open the miscarriages in the victualling-office, which produced a parliamentary inquiry into that affair, and a resolution of the House of Commons, "That Sir John Parsons, Sir Richard Haddock, Admiral Stuart, and Mr. Nicholas Fenn, victuallers of the fleet, should be sent for, in the custody of the serjeant at arms, to answer to the said complaint." But, notwithstanding that an exact scrutiny into that affair produced a full discovery of great mischiefs occasioned by the bad victualling of the fleet, yet the spirit raised against the administration grew so strong, that it was thought necessary for the earl of Torrington to resign his office of first commissioner, in order to allay it; and he was succeeded therein by Thomas, earl of Pembroke; which, from that nobleman's popularity, answered the end effectually, and gave the nation great satisfaction.

I shall open the naval transactions of 1690, with an account of Admiral Russel's sailing into the Mediterranean, though this is, generally speaking, accounted a transaction of the former year; but my reason for placing it here, is, the fleet's not putting to sea till the spring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His Catholic Majesty, Charles II. having espoused a princess of the house of Neubourg, sister to the reigning empress and to the queen of Portugal, demanded an English fleet to conduct her safely to his dominions, which was readily granted; and, indeed, such a compliment never had been refused, even to states in war with us, because it was always taken as a tacit confession of our dominion at sea; which might, methinks, have secured it from Bishop Burnet's censure. On the 24th of November, Admiral Russel sailed with seven large men of war and two yachts, to Flushing, in order to receive her Catholic Majesty and her attendants; and had orders, as soon as the queen came on board, to hoist the union flag at the main-top-mast head, and to wear it there as long as her Majesty was on board. On the 18th of January, 1690, she arrived in the Downs; on the 24th, she came to St. Helen's, whither their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, sent the duke of Norfolk to compliment her, as did their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Denmark, the Lord Cornbury, and Colonel Berkley. The admiral had orders to put to sea with the first fair wind, and was instructed to block up the harbour of Toulon, in order to prevent the French squadron there from coming out; and he endeavoured it on the beginning of February, and again towards the end of the month, but was forced back to Torbay on the 23d. Thence he sailed again in a few days, but was driven back on the 2d of March. At last he sailed with a pretty fair wind, on the 7th of that month, with a stout squadron of thirty men of war under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchantmen, bound for the Streights: and, after a very tempestuous passage, landed her Catholic Majesty on the 16th, at the Groyne; from whence he sailed to execute his other commission, but was forced by contrary winds into the harbour of Ferrol, where the Duke, a second rate man of war, in a brisk gale of wind, ran ashore, and was with great difficulty, got off. The admiral having executed his commission, and having left Vice-admiral Killegrew, with the Mediterranean squadron, behind him, bore away with the first fair wind for England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 28th of April; where he landed several persons of quality who had attended her Catholic Majesty in her voyage.

The reader will easily discern, from this account of the matter, that Admiral Russel performed as much as, the roughness of the season, and other circumstances considered, could be expected from him. Bishop Burnet, however, suggests, that if it had not been for the care he was obliged to take of the queen of Spain, he might have blocked up the Toulon squadron in port, and thereby prevented the misfortunes that afterwards happened to our grand fleet; but I suspect, if we examine this to the bottom, it will be found a mere conjecture, and that, too, not very well founded. We have before observed, with how great difficulty Admiral Russel got with his fleet out to sea, and how late it was in the year. We have likewise mentioned the great fleet of merchantmen under his convoy; and taking these circumstances together, we may easily discern the reason of the Toulon squadron's coming out, which was in the beginning of the month of May, without placing any thing to the account of the compliment paid to the queen of Spain, which, as I before observed, was a thing equally for the honour and interest of Britain; and the consciousness of this was what induced me to enter thus far into the justification of Vice-admiral Russel's conduct.

Vice-admiral Killegrew arrived at Cadiz on the eighth of April, where having, according to his instructions, taken all possible care of the trade, and having been joined by two Dutch men of war, the Guelderland and Zurickzee, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the Toulon squadron. In this, however, he met with no small difficulty, by reason of the stormy weather, which injured several ships of his squadron extremely, and the two Dutch ships, one of seventy-two and the other of sixty-two guns, after losing all their masts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing these unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was wasted; and so much more through the coldness and inactivity of the governor of Cadiz, who, for his negligence in this respect, was justly suspected of being in the French interest. Before things, through these disadvantages, could be brought into perfect order, the Vice-admiral, on the ninth of May, received three different accounts of the Toulon squadron's being at sea. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that pursuant to his instructions, he should immediatly put to sea, in order to go in search of it. On the tenth of May, about four in the morning, he sailed, accordingly, with nine English and two Dutch ships, and arrived the next day in the mouth of the Streights, where he was joined by Captain Shelton, and his detachment, from the bay of Gibraltar, and at the same time received intelligence that the French fleet was in the bay of Tetuan: thither he sailed in quest of them; his fleet consisting now of one second rate, three third rates, six fourth rates, two fifth rates; in all, twelve men of war and two fire-ships, besides five Dutch men of war. On his arrival in Tetuan-bay, he found only two ships, one at anchor, and the other under sail; the latter put out Algerine colours, and escaped; but the former, being embayed, was taken by the Dutch Vice-admiral Allemonde, and proved to be a French ship bound for the West Indies.

The wind shifting, the admiral stood over again towards the Spanish coast, and being two leagues W. N. W. off Ceuta point, the man at the mast-head saw ten ships to the north, with their heads lying eastwards. Upon this, advice was given to the Dutch admiral, and the Montague was sent a-head to discover the enemy's motions; the fleet still continuing to stretch over to Gibraltar. About one o'clock they were within two miles of the French squadron, which appeared to be on the run, and therefore our ships set their top-gallant-sails, and crowded after them; but to little purpose, for the French being all clean ships, just come out of port, whereas some of ours had been seventeen months off the ground, it is no wonder they got clear of them. The chace was continued till the next day, when the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the Dutch and one of the English ships as much a-stern, insomuch, that the admiral had with him no more than four ships, which induced him to give over the chace; yet, between nine and ten in the morning, the Richmond and the Tyger forced one of the merchant ships on shore to the westward of Tariffa. About three in the afternoon, the whole fleet joined, and the admiral bore away for Cadiz.

The French writers have done their best to give this retreat the air of a victory: one of them tells us, that M. Chatteau-Renault, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, ordered all the merchant-ships under his convoy to sail before, while he remained with his squadron of eight men of war between them and the English; and that after this, perceiving one of the vessels, which was a very bad sailer, had fallen behind, he lay by till she passed him, and then, perceiving the English squadron did not incline to engage, he continued his course. But father Daniel, who piques himself so much upon his veracity, carries the thing still farther; he says, that, on the twentieth of May, N. S. the French admiral, with seven ships under his command, discovered near the Streights of Gibraltar, a squadron of twenty-three English and Dutch men of war. He immediately prepared for battle, and sailed towards them. This boldness of his surprised them so much, that they had not courage to attack him; and the count, after waiting for two of his ships that were heavy sailers, and for some merchantmen that were willing to secure themselves under his convoy, continued his route towards Brest, without the least opposition. There is something so very improbable, not to say extravagant, in this story, that there wanted nothing but the historian's reflection to render it perfectly ridiculous. He concludes this tedious detail with observing, "that the very enemy themselves could not but admire the ability and intrepidity of the Count de Chatteau-Renault." Such flourishes are so natural to these authors, that, after a very few instances, I shall content myself with a bare relation of them, and leave their credit to the candid consideration of every impartial reader.

It was the 21st of May before Vice-admiral Killegrew could reach the port of Cadiz, where, having made the necessary detachments for the safe convoy of our homeward-bound merchantmen, he, in pursuance of his instructions, set sail for England, and in thirty-five days arrived at Plymouth with one second and four third rates of ours, six Dutch men of war, the Half-Moon, and Virgin prize. On his arrival at Plymouth, he received letters from the lords of the admiralty, informing him, that the French, after an engagement, had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about Rye, Dover, and those parts, and therefore he was to take all imaginable care of his squadron. Upon this he called a council of war, at which were present the Dutch Admirals, Allemonde and Evertzen, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, then just returned from the Irish coast. Upon mature deliberation, they determined it was safest to proceed with the ships into Hamoaze within Plymouth-sound; for, as they were large ships, they could not run in at low water, and as they were in want of water, provisions, and sea-stores, it was impossible for them to put to sea; so that this was the only way left to be secure from any attempts of the French.

The French had been very industrious this year in sending a large fleet to sea, and that early in the season; for on the 1st or 2d of March they embarked a great supply for Ireland under the convoy of a squadron of thirty-six men of war, which sailed on the 7th of the same month, attended by four fire-ships and five flutes, and were afterwards joined by another squadron from Provence, with several transports; so that in all they convoyed over six thousand men, besides ammunition and money. Part of these they landed on the 11th at Kingsale, and the rest on the 13th in the bay of Corke. On the 8th of April they left the coasts of that island, in order to return into the road of Brest, which they did safely on the 23d, and then prepared to join their grand fleet, which had orders to assemble under the command of the Count de Tourville*.

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* One may justly wonder how the French could be able to fit out not only a greater fleet than we, but with greater expedition too. In order to account for this, I shall offer to the reader's consideration some matters of fact, set down by Captain George St. Lo, who was at this time a prisoner in France, and saw this very armament made. "When I was first brought prisoner thi-

While the French were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent on sending over a royal army, to be commanded by King William in person, to Ireland. This great design was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his Majesty left London to march toward the coast, where he embarked his forces on board two hundred and eighty-eight transports on the 11th, and, escorted by a squadron of six men of war under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed for Carrickfergus, where he safely arrived on the 14th of the same month, and soon after dismissed Rear-admiral Shovel, with the Plymouth squadron, with orders to join the grand fleet, which, as we have before shewn, he could not do, till it was too late.

There was nothing better understood in England than the absolute necessity of assembling early in the year a strong fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the French, after their small advantage in Bantry-bay, had given out, that they would the next summer insult the joint fleets of the English and Dutch. What was still more, the nation's safety depended on this measure no less, since the King and the greatest part of his forces were abroad: scarcely seven thousand regular

ther," says he, " I lay four months in an hospital at Brest for cure of my wounds, and was sent to Nantz, before half cured. While I was at Brest, I was astonished at the expedition used in manning and fitting out their ships, which till then I thought could be done no where sooner than in England, where we have ten times the shipping, and consequently ten times more seamen than they have in France; but there I saw twenty sail of ships of about sixty guns each, got ready in twenty days time: they were brought in, and the men discharged; and, upon an order from Paris, they were careened, keeled up, rigged, victualled, manned, and out again in the said time, with the greatest ease imaginable. I likewise saw a ship of one hundred guns had all her guns taken out there in four or five hours time, which I never saw done in England in twenty-four hours, and this with greater ease, and less hazard, than here, which I saw under the hospital window; and this I am sure I could do as easily in England." England's Safety; or, a Bridle to the French King. London, 4to. 1693.

troops left in England; and such as were in the interest of King James almost every where in motion, and waiting, in all appearance, for nothing, but the sight of a French fleet on the coast, to take up arms, and declare against the government.

Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very slow, for which various, and some almost incredible causes are assigned. It was given out, that the greatest part of the fleet was disaffected; and, to wipe off this suggestion, it was thought necessary that an address should be sent up from the Downs, which was accordingly done. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch sent their fleet to sea, and the English, knowing that nothing of consequence could be done till after their junction, were the less solicitous about putting themselves in order, till they heard of their being at sea.

The conduct of the French in the mean time was of quite another kind; for, while the squadron before-mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of sixty sail at Brest, which was to put to sea by the end of May: this they actually did, and, though they were forced by contrary winds to put back again to that road, yet, on the 12th of June, they put to sea in three squadrons, each squadron being divided into three divisions. Of these the white and blue squadrons, commanded by Count D'Estrees on board the Le Grande, a ship of eighty-six guns, formed the vanguard, consisting of twenty-six men of war. The main body was composed of the white squadron, commanded by the Admiral Count Tourville in the Royal Sun, a ship of one hundred guns; this squadron consisted likewise of twenty-six sail; the blue squadron made the rear guard, commanded by M. D'Amfreville in the Magnificent, a ship of eighty guns, and in this squadron there were but twenty-five sail. In all there were seventy-eight men of war, twenty-two fire-ships, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thousand seven hundred pieces of cannon. On the 13th of June they steered for the English coast, and on the 20th found themselves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took some English fishing-boats, and, after having paid the people who were on board for their fish, he set them at liberty again; and these were the men that first brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coast; while ours was lying idle, and scarcely in a condition to put to sea, as Bishop Burnet very justly observes.

Our admiral, the earl of Torrington, was at St. Helen's when he received this news, which must have surprised him very much, since he was so far from expecting any advice of this kind, that he had no scouts to the westward. He put to sea, however, with such ships as he had, and stood to the south-east on Midsummer day, leaving his orders, that all the English and Dutch ships which could have notice should follow him. This shews how much he was confused, and how little notion he had of a speedy engagement; and indeed it was impossible he should have framed any proper scheme of action, when he had no certain account of the strength of the French. In the evening he was joined by several ships, and the next morning he found himself within sight of the enemy. The French landed, and made some prisoners on shore, and by them sent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of King James, and served now as third captain on board the admiral, promising pardon to all such captains, as would now adhere to that prince. The next day our admiral received another reinforcement of seven Dutch men of war under the command of Admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for several days. It is certain that the earl of Torrington did not think himself strong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the rest of the admirals; *viz.* Ralph Delaval, Esq. vice-admiral of the red, Edward Russel, Esq. admiral of the blue, Sir John Ashby, vice-admiral of the same squadron, and George Rooke, Esq. rear-admiral of the red, were of the like opinion. Besides, he waited for Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth squadron and some other ships.

His whole strength consisted of about thirty-four men of war of several sizes, and the three Dutch admirals had under their command twenty-two large ships. We need not wonder therefore, that, seeing himself out-numbered by above twenty sail, he was not willing to risk his own honour and the nation's safety upon such unequal terms. But the queen who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection, and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coast, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the privy council, sent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw*. In obedience to this order, as soon as it was light, on the 30th of June the admiral threw out the signal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under sail, by a wind with their heads to the northward.

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* Bishop Kennet in his Complete History of England, vol. iii. entertains us with a succinct account of this Jacobite plot, which it is necessary to transcribe, that the reader may have some conception of those reasons that induced the queen and her council to send the admiral these positive orders to fight. "It was agreed," says he, "that while part of the French fleet should bear up the Thames, the Jacobites in London, who were grown very bold and numerous by the flocking of that party from all parts of the country thither, should have made an insurrection, and have seized the queen and her chief ministers. Then certain persons were to have taken upon them the administration of affairs till the return of King James, who was to leave the command of his army to his generals, and hasten with all speed into England; the other part of the French fleet, having joined their gallies, was to have landed eight thousand men at Torbay, with arms for a greater number. After which the gallies and men of war were to sail into the Irish sea to hinder the return of King William and his forces, and the discontented Scots were to have revolted at the same time in several parts of that kingdom."

The signal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head sails to their masts, in order to lie by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch squadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into some disorder. About half an hour after, our blue squadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red, commanded by the earl of Torrington in person, which made the centre of our fleet, could not come up till about ten; and this occasioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French making use of this advantage weathered, and, of course, surrounded the latter, who defended themselves very gallantly, though they suffered extremely from so unequal a dispute. The admiral, seeing their distress, endeavoured to relieve them; and while they dropt their anchors, the only method they had left to preserve themselves, he drove with his own ship and several others between them and the enemy, and in that situation anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but discerning how much the Dutch had suffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood.

The next day it was resolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to preserve the fleet by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement by endeavouring to protect them. This resolution was executed with as much success as could be expected, which however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals; for by not anchoring when the English did, they were driven to a great distance, and by continuing to chace in a line of battle, instead of leaving every ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first mistake. But, notwithstanding all this, they pressed on their pursuit as far as Rye-bay, and forcing one of our men of war of seventy guns, called the Anne, which had lost all her masts, on shore near Winchelsea, they sent in two ships to burn her, which the captain prevented by setting fire to her himself. The body of the French fleet stood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pemsey in Sussex, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which, at low water, lay dry; but her commander defended her so stoutly every high water, that they were at length forced to desist, and the captain carried her safe into Holland.

Our loss in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not so great as might have been expected; not above two ships, two sea-captains, two captains of marines, and three hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch were much more unfortunate, because they were more thoroughly engaged. Besides three ships sunk in the fight, they were obliged to set fire to three more that were stranded on the coast of Sussex, losing in all six ships of the line. They lost likewise abundance of gallant officers, particularly their rear-admirals Dick and Brakel, and Captain Nordel, with a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Yet even this misfortune contributed to raise their reputation at sea, since as soon as the States received the news, they ordered fourteen men of war to be built and put to sea in as many days, which, as my author says, may seem incredible to such as are unacquainted with the power of the Dutch at that time, and what they were able to do upon extraordinary occasions.

We need not wonder, that a victory gained by the French fleet over the joint forces of the maritime powers should extremely elevate the writers of that nation, who are so apt to run out into extravagant flights of panegyric on much slighter occasions. The Marquis De Quincy tells us, that the Dutch fought with all imaginable bravery, and tacitly acknowledges, that they owed their misfortune to their being surrounded by French ships. He likewise owns, that such of the English ships as engaged fought very well, and that the admiral endeavoured to succour the Dutch, though he did it with much caution. But then, to enhance the victory as much as possible, he asserts, that the united fleets were, at least, equal in force to the navy of France, though they had fewer ships. In this, however, he is certainly mistaken, as I shall convince the reader by undeniable evidence. The Dutch squadron consisted of twenty-two large ships, and was by much the most formidable of the whole fleet, and yet that squadron carried but 1,360 guns; whereas the weakest of the French squadrons carried 1,526; and if we should suppose the united fleet to have consisted of ships of the like force with the Dutch, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3,462 guns; whereas the French fleet, according to this writer's own account, carried 4,702. This is sufficient to show how little dependence can be had even on the accounts of the fairest French authors. Father Daniel has given us two relations of this engagement, full of exaggerations. He tells us, that seventeen English and Dutch ships, being disabled, ran a-shore, and were burnt by their own crews; whereas, in truth, instead of the seventeen there were but seven. He likewise magnifies the conduct of the Count De Tourville, who would, as he informs us, have entirely destroyed the enemy if they had not had the advantage of the wind and tide. In the battle, indeed, the English and Dutch had the advantage of the wind; but, in their retreat, the wind was equally favourable to the French; and, as to the advantage of the tide, it was owing to their superior skill in the management of their vessels: and Bishop Burnet very rightly observes, that, amongst the best judges, the Count De Tourville was almost as much blamed for not making use of his victory, as the earl of Torrington was on account of his defeat.

After the engagement our fleet retreated towards the river Thames, and the earl of Torrington, going on shore, left the command to Sir John Ashby, but first gave orders to Captain Monck of the Phœnix, together with four other fifth rates, and four fire-ships, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the Buoy of the Spits, the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys, and immediately retreat, if the enemy approached; or, if they pressed yet farther on him, he was ordered in like manner to take away the buoys near him, and to do what service he could against them with the fire-ships; but still to retire, and make the proper signals in such cases. On the 8th, the French fleet stood towards their own coast, but were seen upon the 27th off the Berry-head, a little to the eastward of Dartmouth, and then, the wind taking them short, they put into Torbay. There they lay not long; for they were discovered the 29th near Plymouth, at which place the necessary preparations were made by platforms and other works, to give them a warm reception. The 5th of August they appeared again off the Ram-head, in number between sixty and seventy, when, standing westward, they were no more seen in the channel this year.

The nation, all this time, was in the utmost confusion from the apprehension of a descent by the French in favour of an insurrection to be at the same time made by the friends of King James. The city of London shewed uncommon zeal for the support of the government, by not only raising their militia, consisting of about nine thousand men, but offering to add to these, six auxiliary regiments, a regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be maintained at their own expence, so long as they should be necessary. The tinners in Cornwall also offered to rise, and addresses of the same nature came from other parts, which were very graciously received by, and did great services to Queen Mary, though she did not think fit to make use of the proposed succours. She apprehended, or at least was advised by her council, that it would be more effectual to seize such persons of distinction, as were known to be in her father's interest. This, it is supposed, had the desired effect, and induced the French, when they saw themselves disappointed in their expectations of finding numbers ready to take arms on their first appearance, to attempt little or nothing to our prejudice, except it was the burning of Teignmouth, and three inconsiderable vessels there; which, however, some French historians have represented as a glorious enterprise, and, to make their tale hang the better together, have erected fortifications that were never seen, talked of an obstinate resistance that was never made, and have converted three fishing smacks into four men of war, and eight merchant-ships richly laden. The malcontents, however, gave quite a different turn to the inactivity of the French fleet: they said that the French king, as an ally to, and at the earnest request of James II. would not hurt his country, or plunder its inhabitants. Over and above these precautions, the queen took another, which was, sending over Mr. Harbord to the States-general, to inform them how much her Majesty was concerned at the misfortune that had befallen their squadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been seconded as they ought to have been. He was likewise to inform them, that the queen had given orders for refitting the Dutch ships that were disabled, at the nation's expence, and that her Majesty had farther directed, that all possible care should be taken of the sick and wounded seamen, and that a bounty should be given to the widows of such as had fallen in the action.

He was still farther instructed to acquaint the States, that twelve large ships were fitting out here to join the fleet, and to desire that their high mightinesses would direct a proportionable reinforcement; which they accordingly did.*

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* That the reader may the better apprehend the reasons which induced her Majesty to apply in this manner to the Dutch, it will be proper to lay before him an extract from Rear-admiral Evertzen's letter, in which he gives an account of the fight.

"The 4th of this month he joined the English and Dutch fleets, riding near the Isle of Wight, with three men of war; there he understood that the French fleet had been descryed, riding in several places, to the number of eighty-two men of war, great and small; thereupon it was resolved that they should weigh anchor, with a resolution to find them out, and observe their motions. Before the arrival of Admiral Evertzen, it was agreed between the two nations, that the Hollanders should have the vanguard, which was in appearance to do them honour, but at the bottom to conceal Torrington's designs. After they had been under sail about two or three hours, they were obliged, by fogs and bad weather, to come to an anchor; but soon after, they perceived the French fleet to bear up towards them, with the wind at east. Immediately they weighed anchor, and endeavoured to gain the weather gage, which they did with such success, that Torrington gave the signal for the first squadron to engage; but the French thought fit to retire. The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the two fleets were always in view of each other; but in regard the French fleet was much the stronger both for number and bigness of ships, it was judged most proper not to fight in the open sea; and Torrington did his part so well, that he avoided engaging till he was come off Beachy-head, which was favourable for his purpose; and there it was that he received the queen's orders not to delay engaging, if the wind and the weather would permit, which was the reason that, upon the 10th, by day-break, we went to seek the enemy, who expected us in order of battle; and so by 9 o'clock the engagement began between the blue squadron of the French and the vanguard of the Dutch, and both sides fired desperately for three hours together, till the French squadron not liking their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they could make; but about one there happened a calm, which not only prevented the Hollanders' pursuit, but put them in a little disorder; upon which the French, whom the same calm hindered from getting away, were constrained to begin the fight again, which lasted till five o'clock in the evening, with an incredible fury. As for what concerns the English, most certainly, unless it were some few vessels that fought against Torrington's order, the rest did nothing at all; so that the main body of the

As soon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council, where he justified himself with great presence of mind; he said, there were two things to be principally considered, the loss that had been sustained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The first, he alleged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt which the English and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at sea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed, that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had saved the fleet, and with much spirit and steadiness declared, that he had rather his reputation should suffer for a time, than his country undergo a loss, which she might never be able to repair. The council, however, thought proper to commit his lordship to the Tower; and that they might lessen the clamours of the crowd, and give some satisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerness, where they were to make a thorough inquiry into the real causes of this disaster.

The fleet remained now under the command of Sir Richard Haddock, Vice-admiral Killegrew, and Sir John Ashby, who had orders to put it into the best condition possible; which they executed with great diligence, and by the latter end of August had forty-

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French fell into the rear of the Dutch fleet, and having fought from morning till evening, and defended themselves so long against such a prodigious number of the enemy that assailed them on every side, they were so battered, that hardly three were capable of making any defence; which constrained them to make their way through the French fleet, and bear away for the coast of England between Beachy and Ferley. Admiral Brakel, Jean Dick, and Captain Nordel were slain. The Friezland, having lost all her masts, as she could not be towed off by reason of the calm, was taken towards the end of the fight. Admiral Evertzen gave this testimony of all the Dutch officers and soldiers, that there was not one that did not exactly perform his duty. In short, it has not ever been heard that twenty-two ships fought so long against eighty-two, of which seventeen carried no less than from eighty to an hundred guns."

one ships of the line under their command, exclusive of the Dutch: yet, in spite of all their activity; it was very late in the year before they were able to undertake any effectual service; and by that time it was necessary to lay up the larger ships, the remainder being found sufficient for the embarkation of a body of troops under the command of the earl of Marlborough, whose winter expedition shall be taken notice of in its proper place. In the mean time let us return to the proceedings of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, with the squadron under his command, which we left, with that of Vice-admiral Killegrew, in Plymouth-sound.

On the 21st of July, Rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ships under his command for Kingsale, to intercept some French frigates that were said to be on that coast. Arriving at Waterford river, with intention to execute this commission, he met with the agreeable news of Lieutenant General Kirk's having made himself master of the town of Waterford, but was at the same time informed, that Duncannon Castle, which by its situation commanded the river, still held out, and that the lieutenant-general for want of cannon was not likely to take it. Upon this, considering the importance of the place, and that no use could be made of the port of Waterford, while it remained in the hands of the enemy, he sent advice to the lieutenant-general on the 27th of July, that he was ready to assist him by sending some frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could spare out of his squadron under the protection of their guns. Accordingly, the next day he sent in the Experiment and the Greyhound, two small ships, to batter their castle, and under their fire landed between six and seven hundred men, all the boats of the fleet being employed in this service. The castle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpose; but, when once General Bourke, who commanded there, saw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate, and marched out at the head of two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage, leaving to the English the fortress, which was furnished with forty-two pieces of cannon. A noble reward for one day's hard duty!

After this happy success the rear-admiral sailed for Limerick, where he was informed the French had a considerable number of ships; but finding soon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own squadron began to be in want of provisions and sea-stores, he came to a resolution of sailing to Plymouth, where he received a considerable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in quest of the enemy. But these orders, which came from the lords of the admiralty, were, on the 18th of September, countermanded by a fresh order from the king, directing him to detach ten ships into the Soundings for the protection of the trade, and to sail with the rest for the Downs; which he accordingly did.

After raising the siege of Limerick, King William returned into England, where in a council held on the affairs of Ireland, which were still in a very precarious condition, many of the great cities, and most of the convenient ports being still held for King James, the earl of Marlborough proposed a plan for the immediate reduction of that island; he observed first, that our fleet was now at sea, and that of the French returned to Brest, in which situation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to descents. He farther remarked, that there were, at least, five thousand land-forces lying idle in England, which might be embarked on board the fleet even in this late season of the year, and land time enough to perform considerable service. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of Marlborough, and sent orders to the admirals to send the great ships about to Chatham, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet the forces ordered for this service.

The admirals hoisted their flag on board the Kent, a third rate, and having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of Corke on the 21st of September in the afternoon. The next day they attempted to enter, but were for some time prevented by the fire of a small battery of five guns, from which, however, the Irish were soon driven by two or three boats full of brave fellows, and then the whole fleet got into the harbour without any more interruption. On the 23d the forces were landed, and joined a body of between three and four thousand men under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, who, by an ill-timed dispute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition.

The earl of Marlborough, as the elder lieutenant-general, and commanding the troops that were principals, had, according to all the rules of service, a right to it: but the duke of Wirtemberg insisted on his being a prince, which at last, however, he was content to wave, and to consent they should command alternately. The city of Corke was very well fortified, and had in it a body of four thousand men: but the earl of Marlborough having observed that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the 24th, which was performed with great expedition by five or six hundred seamen, carpenters, &c. and, after playing on the town for a few hours, made so considerable a breach, that, on the 25th, the generals resolved to attack it, in which they were assisted by ten pinnaces, manned by seamen well armed with hand grenadoes from the fleet. The besieged were so terrified at this, that it was easily discerned the dispute would not continue long; and indeed the Irish instantly capitulated.*

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* We have a very fair account of this matter, both in Burnet's History of his own Times, and in Bishop Kennet's Complete His-

But the very next day the fleet received orders to retire, which they did, leaving a squadron under the command of the duke of Grafton to assist the general; but that brave nobleman, having received a wound in the shoulder in the attack before-mentioned, died within a few days, when the command devolved upon Captain Matthew Tenant, who was blown up in the Breda in Corke harbour; and then it fell to Captain Crofts, who attended the earl of Marlborough till after the reduction of Kingsale, as well as Corke, which surrendered on the 15th of October, and then brought over the victorious general, who was presented to his master at Kensington on the 28th of that month, after having achieved, in a very few weeks, more than all the foreign generals had been able to do since the beginning of the war in Ireland.

The fleet arrived in the Downs on the 8th of October, bringing over with them, by the earl of Marlborough's desire, the governor of Corke, and several persons of quality, who were made prisoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide their fleet into small squadrons for several services, and leave only a strong squadron in the Downs under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who cruized the remaining part of the year

tory: yet neither of those prelates were enough master of the subject to give their readers a proper idea of this extraordinary affair. The earl of Marlborough's expedition, all circumstances considered, was beyond comparison the most successful undertaking in the whole reign of King William: and even the reduction of Corke was such a mark of penetration as King William never forgot, since it depended entirely on his lordship's considering the situation of the place, and observing that all the pains taken in fortifying it were thrown away. If King James's French generals had understood as much, they would not have put four thousand men, and some of their best officers, into such a place; and, on the other hand, if King William's foreign officers had joined the light of genius to the knowledge they had acquired by experience, they would not have informed the king as they did, that the place could not be taken in less than six weeks even by a regular siege.

in the Soundings, without any success remarkable enough to deserve notice, except that the Deptford and the Crown, two small ships, took a small French man of war called the Fripon, commanded by Captain St. Marca, one of the briskest officers in the French service. She carried but eighteen guns and ten pattereroes, and but a little before, had engaged four Dutch privateers, whom she obliged to sheer off, though with the loss of thirty men killed and wounded: yet now, notwithstanding her force was so much weakened, she fought till her captain and lieutenants were desperately wounded, and her master killed; nor did she yield at last, till her main-mast was shot away by the Crown, and she boarded by the crew of that ship. When the rear-admiral had ended his cruize, he sent some of his ships to the coast of Ireland, others into the Soundings, and returned with the rest into the Downs; and thus ended the naval operations in Europe.

We ought next to proceed to the West Indies, where, within the compass of this year, there passed many things worthy of notice; but as the critical observation of time in this case would necessarily occasion a great deal of perplexity in the narration, and force us to consider it in such a manner as must render it very obscure as well as unconnected, we shall therefore refer the history of the naval transactions there to that period in which they were completed, and so take in the whole together, uniting the circumstances of the several expeditions in as clear and succinct a manner as the nature of the subject will allow. In the mean time, let us return to the inquiry made this winter into the conduct of the earl of Torrington, which was a point that exercised the thoughts of the ministry, and of both houses of parliament, as well as it had done before the tongues of the people.

The king, upon his return from Ireland, expressed great concern about this affair; the honour of the nation was in some measure affected, the common cry was very strong against the earl, and the queen had engaged her royal promise to the Dutch, that his conduct should undergo a strict examination. On the other hand, the earl had been very instrumental in the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of persuading many, that, instead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being sacrificed to the intrigues of his enemies, and the resentment of foreigners, merely for preserving the English fleet. The great difficulty lay in the manner of bringing him to a trial: the king was resolved it should be by a court-martial; the friends of the earl maintained, that he ought to be tried by his peers. A doubt was likewise started as to the power of the lords of the admiralty; for, though it was allowed, that the lord-high admiral of England might have issued a commission for trying him, yet it was questioned, whether any such authority was lodged in the commissioners of the admiralty or not; and, though some great lawyers gave their opinions in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient to settle so important a point by authority of parliament.

In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commissioners of the admiralty; and, immediately after the passing of this, these commissioners directed a court-martial to be held for the trial of the earl, who was then sick in the Tower. On the 10th of December, this court-martial met on board the Kent frigate at Sheerness, Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement, being president, and all the members of the court such as were believed to be absolutely independent of the person they were to try. The charge against the earl was, that, in the late engagement off Beachy-head, he had, through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his office, drawn dishonour on the English nation, and sacrificed our good allies the Dutch.

His lordship defended himself with great clearness of reason, and with extraordinary composure of mind. He observed, that, in the several councils of war held before the fight, not only himself, but all the admirals in the fleet were against engaging. He took notice of the queen's express order, which obliged them to fight against their own opinion, and without any probability of success. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and French fleets, the former consisting but of fifty-six, and the latter having eighty-two actually engaged. He asserted, that the Dutch were destroyed by their own rashness, and that, if he had sustained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet must have been surrounded as they were; and, as some reflections had been thrown out, of his having a pique against the Dutch, to gratify which, he had given them up, he not only justified himself very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with saying, that his conduct had saved the English fleet, and that he hoped an English court-martial would not sacrifice him to Dutch resentment.

After a full hearing, and strict examination of all that had been advanced on both sides, his lordship was unanimously acquitted. And though some writers of our own, as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the court-martial, yet, on the whole, there seems to be no just ground either for censuring them, or fixing any imputation on the memory of that noble person. It is true, the day after his acquittal, the king took away his commission, and he was thenceforward laid aside; which might be a very right step in politics, as it tended to satisfy our allies, and gave his Majesty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer.

The care of the administration to repair all past errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared visibly in the measures taken for sending a great fleet early to sea in the spring of the year 1691. In order to this, the week after the earl of Torrington was dismissed from his command, Edward Russel, Esq. was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received instructions to use the utmost expedition in drawing together the ships of which his fleet was to be composed; and a list of them, to the number of ninety-one, of which fifty-seven were of the line of battle, was annexed to his instructions. He executed these directions with the utmost skill and diligence, and, by the 7th of May, was ready to put to sea.

The blue squadron was commanded by Henry Killegrew, Esq. as admiral, Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral. Admiral Russel in the Britannia, commanded the red squadron, having, for his vice and rear-admirals, Sir John Ashby, and George Rooke, Esq. As to the particular strength of these squadrons, having seen a more perfect list than that exhibited by Mr. Burchet, I have given an abstract of it at the bottom of the page.* His orders were, to proceed in the Soundings as soon as he should be joined by the Dutch, and he was likewise directed to take care to block up the port of Dunkirk, in order to prevent the French privateers from disturbing our trade. These directions,

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* Blue Squadron.

	Guns.	Men.
2 First rates,	200	1,600
6 Second rates,	570	3,960
16 Third rates,	1,090	7,040
4 Fourth rates,	200	1,000
28	2,060	13,600
3 Frigates.		
2 Hospital-ships.		
1 Yacht.		
10 Fire-ships.		

Red Squadron.

	Guns.	Men.
3 First rates,	300	2,400
5 Second rates,	470	3,300
16 Third rates,	1,090	7,040
5 Fourth rates,	250	1,250
29	2,110	13,990
3 Frigates.		
2 Hospital-ships.		
1 Yacht.		
10 Fire-ships.		

however, were but indifferently executed, which our writers attribute to the slowness of the Dutch in sending their ships to join the confederate fleet, which they had stipulated to do by the beginning of May, according to the proportion of five to eight, though Bishop Burnet says of three to five, of equal rates and strength. Secretary Burchet, however, complains, that it was late in the month of May before there were so many as twenty-eight Dutch ships in the fleet, whereas, according to the list published by the states-general in the very same month, there ought to have been forty-six, and those too, very large ships. This, however, is certain, that, notwithstanding all his skill and care, Admiral Russel found his fleet but indifferently manned, and very scantily victualled; at the same time that he was so perplexed by his orders, and with the difficulties started upon every occasion by the Dutch admiral, who, very probably, was as much cramped by his, that a great part of the months of May and June were spent to very little purpose; and, though the French fleet was not in such forwardness this year as it had been the last, yet it was at sea some time before ours had any intelligence of it.

If we may judge from appearances, one may safely say, that Louis XIV. shewed a singular vanity in maintaining a prodigious naval force, to make all Europe see how soon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had, at this time, to deal with the English, Spaniards, and Dutch; and, as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhausted his treasures, in order, had it been possible, to render himself master at sea. He appointed the Count D'Estrees, vice-admiral of France, to command, in the Mediterranean, a fleet consisting of four large men of war, five frigates, twenty-six gallies, and three bomb vessels: and, on the other hand, Count Tourville was directed to assemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean: it consisted of three squadrons, the white and blue commanded by M. Chatteau Renault, in the Royal Dauphin of one hundred guns; the white squadron commanded by Count Tourville in person in the Royal Sun, the finest ship in France, which carried one hundred and six guns; the blue squadron under the Marquis D'Amfreville in the Superbe of ninety-eight guns. This fleet, though very considerable, and excellently provided with every thing necessary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates; and, therefore, Count Tourville was instructed to avoid an engagement as much as possible, and to amuse the enemy, by keeping, as long as might be, in the channel. This great officer did all that could be expected from him, in order to put early to sea; but, in spite of his diligence and application, it was the middle of June before he left the port of Brest. But then it must be observed, that a squadron had been sent under the command of the Marquis de Nesmonde, to carry supplies of all sorts for the relief of King James's army in Ireland.

These were indeed great things, and what, all circumstances considered, one could scarce conceive the French able to perform; yet they were far short of what it was believed in England at that time they were in a condition to undertake, and, therefore, so many accounts were sent to our admiral from court, of descents to be made here, forces to be convoyed there, and other strange projects, that he was hindered from pursuing either the orders that were first given him, or executing his own designs; and, though he discovered a good deal of uneasiness under this, yet he continued for many weeks to complain and obey.

The Smyrna fleet was expected home this spring, and, as the English and Dutch had a joint concern therein, to the amount of upwards of four millions sterling, both nations were extremely apprehensive of its being attacked by the French, and, therefore, very precise orders were sent to Admiral Russel to use his utmost care for its preservation; and this he performed with equal industry and success; for, having appointed single ships to cruize for them on every point of the compass, he crossed with the body of the fleet to Cape Clear on the Irish coast, and, being off Kingsale, received advice, that the Smyrna fleet was arrived safely in that harbour. Upon this, he sent orders to Captain Aylmer to join him immediately with the squadron under his command, resolving to conduct the Smyrna fleet as far as Scilly, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the channel, having first taken the necessary precaution of sending a frigate before to Plymouth, that he might be satisfied none of the enemy's ships were upon the coast.

Upon parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to lie off Ushant, and, if the French were gone from thence, to follow them to Belle Isle; but, being afterwards of opinion that they lay in the sea purposely to avoid him, he altered his resolutions, and resolved to go into a more proper station in search of them; so that, parting with the Smyrna fleet off Scilly the 13th of July, he first bent his course towards the French coast, from whence he sent a letter to the secretary of state, desiring that it might be considered, whether the fleet, before its return, could be serviceable towards the reduction of Ireland; for that the provisions on board would last no longer than the latter end of August; and, after that month was expired, he thought it not safe for the great ships to be out of harbour, but he desired that supplies of provision might be ready at Plymouth, that so the want of them might not incapacitate the fleet to perform any necessary service.

Arriving in this station, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent to look into Brest, where he saw about forty sail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ships from Bretagne, escorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudesley, to decoy these ships into his hands, made use of an excellent stratagem: he knew the French had intelligence that a small squadron of their fleet had made prizes of several English merchantmen; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of false news, he ordered part of his squadron to put out French colours, and the rest to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally suppose it that squadron with their prizes. This succeeded in part; but the enemy discovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much mischief.

Towards the latter end of the month of July, Admiral Russel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with fresh provisions; some of these were taken, and from them he learnt that Count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping scouts at a considerable distance on all points of the compass by which he could be approached, and these being chaced by ours, they immediately ran, making signals to others that lay within them; so that it was impossible to come up with the body of their fleet, though that of the English and Dutch sailed in such a posture, that the scouts on each wing, as well as those a-head and a-stern, could, in clear weather see twenty leagues round.

The admiral, being sensible of the dangers that might attend this situation, wrote home for fresh orders; which he received, but found them so perplexed, that, having intelligence of the French fleet's being gone into Brest, he, in the beginning of August, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war, returned to Torbay, from whence he wrote up to court to have his last orders explained. In return he was directed to put to sea again; which he did; and, notwithstanding his frequent representations of the inconvenience of having such large ships exposed to the rough weather, which usually happens about the equinox, he was obliged to continue in the Soundings to the 2d of September, when he met with such a violent storm, that, after doing all that could be done for the preservation of the fleet, he was constrained to bear up for so dangerous a port as Plymouth; and in doing this, through the violence of the wind and the haziness of the weather, the ships were so scattered, that the greatest part of them were not seen when the admiral himself came to an anchor in the Sound; but, when it grew somewhat clearer, one of the second rates, which proved to be the Coronation, was discovered at anchor off Ram-head, without any thing standing but the ensign-staff, and soon after she foundered, her commander, Captain Shelton, together with her company, except a very inconsiderable number, being lost. Many of the biggest ships were not able to weather the easternmost point of land at the entrance into Plymouth sound, and therefore were constrained to take sanctuary there, in that unavoidable confusion which a lee-shore, thick weather, and a very hard gale of wind, will always occasion; insomuch that the Harwich, a third rate, ran on shore and bulged near Mount Edgcombe-house, and the Royal Oak and Northumberland tailed on the ground, though afterwards they were luckily got off. A great Dutch ship was seen at anchor above five leagues in the offing, with all her masts gone; and several there were that very narrowly escaped the danger of the Eddystone.

The admiral immediately gave orders for refitting such of the ships as had been damaged in the storm, and left Sir Cloudesley Shovel at Plymouth to see it performed; directing him, as soon as they were in a condition to sail, to send a squadron of ten sail into the Soundings, for the security of the homeward-bound trade, himself, with the rest of the fleet, steering for Spithead; where, soon after, he received orders to send the largest ships about to Chatham, as the Dutch admiral did to return home, with the first and second rates under his command. Admiral Russel was likewise directed to form a squadron of thirty sail of English and Dutch ships, to be sent to the coast of Ireland; and he, accordingly, appointed Vice-admiral Delaval for this command, who four times attempted to execute his orders, and was as often forced back by contrary winds; which, however, proved of no detriment to the service, since the intelligence received of the French sending a fleet to Limerick proved false. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the profit, honour, or satisfaction of the nation. Yet, certainly, nothing could be charged on the admiral's conduct, who did all that could be expected from an able and vigilant officer, though his endeavours were frustrated by many clashing and contradictory orders from home, the artful conduct of a cautious enemy, and the unavoidable effects of high winds and boisterous weather.

We need not wonder, therefore, either at the attempts made in the House of Commons to fasten upon him the miscarriages, as they were called, at sea, or the ill-natured censures glanced at his memory by some peevish writers,* with whom want of fortune will always imply want of skill and integrity: these are things not to be avoided, or, indeed, much to be heeded. The storm in the House of Commons never gathered to a head, for those who misinterpreted the admiral's conduct found, on inspecting papers, that it was not for their interest to examine it; and, as for our censorious authors, their reflections have recoiled upon themselves.

It was now become evident to the whole nation, that, with respect to our honour and interest in this war, the management of affairs at sea was chiefly to be regarded; and yet, by an unaccountable series of wrong councils, the management of these affairs was, in reality, less regarded than any thing else. The absolute reduction of Ireland and the war in Flanders seemed to occupy the king's thoughts entirely, and the care of the navy was left wholly to the board of Admiralty; who, to speak in the softest terms, did not manage it very successfully, or much to the satisfaction of the nation. There were, besides, some other things which contributed to make our maritime councils move slowly. There was a faction grown up in the fleet against the admiral, and, at the same time, the government entertained a great jealousy of many of the officers; though, to this hour, it remains a secret whether it was or was not well-grounded.

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* Bishop Burnet says, the season went over without any action, and Russel, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a storm; which was much censured, for that road is not safe, and two considerable ships were lost upon the occasion. Great factions were amongst the flag-officers, and no other service was done by this great equipment, but that our trade was maintained.—This remark is worth nothing, unless Admiral Russel had it in commission to direct the winds; for, in a storm, folks do not make for the best but for the nearest port.

The truth seems to be, that King James was better known to the officers of the fleet than to any other set of men in England; most of them had served under him when lord high-admiral, and many had been preferred by him; which rendered it highly probable they might have an esteem for his person; but that any of these officers intended to act in his favour, in conjunction with a French force, against their country, is very unlikely, especially if we consider the unanimity with which they went into the revolution, which had been openly acknowledged, and they solemnly thanked for it by the convention. Yet the report of the contrary was grown wonderfully loud, and seems to have been very artfully propagated by the enemies of particular persons, as well as by those who were no friends to the government; for it must be allowed, that King James's agents here boasted, in all the advices they sent him, that they had brought back many of the officers of the navy to his interest; and they went so far as to name some of them, which they might do from many other motives than that of speaking truth. However it was, this is certain, that in parliament, at court, and in the navy, nothing was heard of but jealousies, ill conduct, and want of sufficient supplies for the service; a kind of discourse that lasted all the winter, and was productive of many bad consequences.

In the spring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to Holland, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to Admiral Russel, who had been again appointed admiral and commander in chief by commission, dated December the 3d, 1691. At this time, however, he was very far from standing in high favour. He had expostulated freely with his Majesty on the disgrace of the earl of Marlborough, and lived on no extraordinary terms with the new secretary, Lord Nottingham; but his character as an officer, and his known steadiness in revolution-principles, supported him, and the king resolved to confide the fleet to his care, almost whether the admiral would or not.

The principal thing that seems to have been intended was, convincing not France alone, but also all Europe, that the maritime powers were still lords of the sea, by fitting out early such a fleet as should keep their enemies in awe, while a descent was made in Normandy. Something of this kind King William intimated in his speech to the parliament, and it was certainly expected both by this nation and the Dutch. When, therefore, the king left England in the beginning of March, his instructions to Admiral Russel were, to use all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet out to sea; and, at the same time, he was promised, that his Majesty would not fail to quicken the Dutch; but we shall soon see that all these schemes were suddenly altered, and that, if the king's new ministry had been but furnished with tolerable intelligence, these schemes could never have entered into their heads. To be clear in this point, we must look over to the transactions in France.

As soon as Louis XIV. perceived, either through unavoidable misfortunes, or the intrigues of his own ministers, that it was a thing impossible to support the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a resolution of employing the forces that were still left King James, to serve his purpose another way. With this view he concerted, with the malecontents in England, an invasion on the coast of Sussex; and though for this design it was necessary to draw together a great number of transports, as well as a very considerable body of forces, yet he had both in readiness, before it was so much as suspected here. The land army consisted of fourteen battalions of English and Irish troops, and about nine thousand French, commanded by Marshal De Belfondes; so that, in all, there could not be less than twenty thousand men. The fleet of transports consisted of three hundred sail, and was well provided with every thing necessary for the invasion. In short, nothing was wanting to the execution of this design in the beginning of April, but the arrival of Count D'Estrees's squadron of twelve men of war, which was to escort the embarkation, while the Count De Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was also ready to put to sea, but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this situation, King James sent over Colonel Parker, and some other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and some of these people, in hopes of reward, gave the first clear account of the whole design to our government at home; upon which, order after order was sent to Admiral Russel to hasten out to sea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time.

There were, at this very critical juncture, two considerable squadrons at sea; one under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval, which was sent to bring home a fleet of merchantmen from the Mediterranean; the other under Rear-admiral Carter, near the French coast. It was apprehended that the French would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore, on the last of February, orders were sent by the Groin packet-boat to Vice-admiral Delaval, to avoid coming near Cape St. Vincent, but rather to sail to Dingle-bay, the mouth of the Shannon, or some other port thereabouts. But, for fear these orders might not reach him soon enough at Cadiz, an advice-boat was ordered to cruize for him off Cape Clear, with instructions to put into Corke or Kingsale. However, both these orders missed him, and he was so fortunate as to arrive, in the beginning of March, safe in the Downs.

As for Rear-admiral Carter, he was ordered to continue cruizing with his squadron of eighteen sail, as near the French coast as it was possible, in order to be the better and more certainly informed of what they were doing. His Majesty, King William, as soon as he arrived in Holland, took care to hasten the naval preparations with unusual diligence; so that the fleet was ready to put to sea much sooner than had been expected, or, at least, much sooner than it had done the year before, and was also in a much better condition. As for our Admiral, he went on board in the beginning of May; and, observing how great advantage the French might reap by the division of such considerable squadrons from our fleet, his first care was, to write to court on this subject, and to desire that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction, and that timely notice might be given to all persons concerned. In return to this, he had orders sent him to cruize between Cape La Hogue and the Isle of Wight, till the squadrons should join with him, though he had proposed the junction should be made off Beachy-head. However, he obeyed his orders as soon as he received them, and plyed it down through the sands with a very scanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold stroke of the admiral, which was his own, was owing all his following success.

On the 8th the fleet came safe off Rye, and that night the admiral sent to the Dutch admiral to weigh and make sail after him, that no time might be lost; and he also sent a squadron of small ships to look for Sir Ralph Delaval, being in great pain till the whole confederate fleet was in a body. On the 11th of May he sailed from Rye-bay for St. Helen's, where, in two days time, he was joined by Sir Ralph Delaval, and Rear-admiral Carter, with their squadrons. While they lay here, the admiral received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, as secretary of state, written by Queen Mary's direction, wherein he was informed, that a scandalous and malicious report was spread, as if some of the officers of their Majesties' fleet were disaffected, or not hearty in their service; and that her Majesty had thereupon been pressed to the discharge of many of them from their employments: but her Majesty charged the admiral to acquaint his officers, that she was satisfied this report was raised by the enemies of the government, and that she reposed so entire a confidence in their fidelity, that she had resolved not to displace so much as one of them. Upon this the flag-officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on board the Britannia, at St. Helen's, May the 15th, 1692, which was the same day transmitted to court, and on the next presented by the lords of the admiralty to her Majesty, who was pleased to make this wise and gracious answer, which was published that night in the Gazette: "I always had this opinion of the commanders; but I am glad this is come to satisfy others."

When all the ships, English and Dutch, were come together, the admiral proposed, that a small detachment of six or eight frigates might be sent to hover about the coast of Normandy; that at the same time the forces intended for a descent should embark, and be landed at St. Maloe's, and the grand fleet lie westward of that place, in order to protect them from the enemy. This proposition being in part approved, he detached six light ships to gain intelligence; and, it being left to him to proceed as a council of war should advise, he, on the 18th of May, sailed for the coast of France. The next day, about three in the morning, the scouts, westward of the fleet, fired swivel-guns, and being in a short time in sight, made the signal of discovering the enemy. Immediately orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the signal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the sooner, if the French had stood to the northward. A little after four, the sun dispersing the fog, the enemy were seen standing southward. The admiral upon this caused the signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore away with his ship so far leeward, as that each ship in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then be brought to, and lay by, with his fore-top-sail to the mast, that so others might have the better opportunity of placing themselves according to the manner formerly directed on such an occasion.*

The confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the Dutch squadron in the van, the red in

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* It will be proper to give the reader here an abstract of the force of the respective fleets:

The Red Squadron.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
5 First,	3,835	500
3 Second,	1,800	270
16 Third,	6,400	1,100
7 Fourth,	1,860	350
31	13,895	2,220

The right honourable Edward Russel, Esq. admiral, commander in chief.
Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral.
Sir Cloudsley Shovel, rear-admiral.

The Blue Squadron.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
1 First,	780	100
7 Second,	4,655	636
18 Third,	7,740	1,270
6 Fourth,	1,500	304
32	14,675	2,310

Sir John Ashby, admiral.
George Rooke, Esq. vice-admiral.
Richard Carter, Esq. rear-admiral.

the centre, and the blue in the rear. About ten the French Fleet bore down upon them with great resolution. About half an hour after eleven, Count Tourville in the Royal Sun, brought to, and began the fight with Admiral Russel, being within three quarters musket-shot. He plied his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being very much wounded. About two the wind shifted; so that five of the enemy's blue squadron posted themselves, three a-head, and two a-stern of their admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The admiral and his two seconds, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Aylmer, had all these ships to deal with. There was so thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be seen; and, as soon as it was cleared up, the French admiral was discovered towing away northward; upon which the admiral followed him, and made the signal for chacing.

While this passed between the admirals, Sir Cloudsley Shovel was got to the windward of Count Tourville's squadron, and engaged them; but, the fog growing thicker than before, they were forced to anchor; and about this time it was that Captain Hastings, in the Sandwich, was killed, driving through those ships of the enemy, by reason his anchors were not clear. The weather clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, and the English

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The Dutch Squadron.

Rates.		Men.	Guns.
9	First,	4,515	796
10	Second,	3,766	772
9	Third,	2,925	640
8	Fourth,	1,845	406
36		13,051	2,614

Admiral Allemonde.
Vice-admiral Callembergh.
Rear-admiral Vandergoes.

The French Fleet.

The Van.
26 ships from 90 to 60 guns.
The Centre.
25 ships from 104 to 54 guns.
The Rear.
12 ships from 94 to 54 guns.

So that Admiral Russel had 99 ships of the line under his command, and Count Tourville but 63, some of which were detached at the time of the action.

chaced the best they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the English blue squadron, having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having lost four ships, bore away for Conquet-Road. In this short action Rear-admiral Carter was killed, whose last words effectually confuted the base reports spread to blemish his reputation; for, finding himself mortally wounded, he recommended it to Captain Wright, who commanded his ship, to fight her as long as she could swim.*

The 20th of May proved so dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the Dutch discovered the enemy; and then the whole fleet began to chace, the French crowding away westward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored; about ten they weighed again, and at twelve Admiral Russel's fore-topmast came by the board.

On the 22d, about seven in the morning, the English fleet continued the chace with all the success they could desire; at eleven the French admiral ran a-shore, and cut her masts away; upon this her two seconds plyed up to her, and other ships began to hover about them; upon which the admiral sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, who was in the rear, to keep with him a strength sufficient to destroy those ships, and to send the rest, that were under his command, to join the body of the fleet. In the evening a great number of the enemy's ships were seen going into La Hogue. On the 23d the admiral sent in Sir George Rooke, with several men of war, fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to destroy these ships in the bay. On their entering, it was perceived, that there were thirteen sail; but they were got up so high, that none but the small frigates could do any service. Sir George, however, was resolved to execute his orders; and, therefore, having manned his boats, he went in person to encourage the attempt, burnt six of them that night, and the other seven the next morning, together with a great number of transport ships, and other vessels laden with ammunition. One would think this was a remarkable piece of service: indeed it was by much the greatest that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on shore, and within sight of the Irish camp, and with the loss only of ten men; yet Bishop Burnet, by an odd stroke, either of ill humour or great negligence, has thought fit to blame Sir George, as if he had not been inclined to fight.

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* The manner of his death shews how false the aspersion was, that he had taken ten thousand pounds to fire upon the French only with powder, who were to return the like, and then he was to go over to them with his squadron. As he certainly died like a man of honour, it is but just to believe, that he was strictly such while he lived.

Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, till they ran through the race of Alderney, among such rocks and shoals as our pilots were absolutely against following them; for which that admiral has been also censured, though, perhaps, without cause, since some of the ablest seamen in England were of opinion, that there could not be a more desperate undertaking than the flight of the French ships through that passage. But though despair might justify them, yet it does not appear to me an argument, that Sir John Ashby ought to have followed them.* The original letters given in the following pages will set some circumstances in a better light, and with greater weight of evidence, than could be done otherwise. Besides they are, the latter especially, become so scarce, as hardly to be met with.*

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* The reader will be satisfied of this, if he casts his eye upon a sea-chart, and considers the prodigious risk the French ran, in order to get through the race of Alderney. This circumstance is particularly taken notice of in our tar song on the victory of La Hogue, which shews what the seamen thought of it.

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* SIR RALPH DELAVAL'S LETTER TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

[*From on board the Royal Sovereign.*]

"I believe it my duty to acquaint you, that, on the 21st instant, Admiral Russel having made the signal for the fleet to cut their cables, I observed the French to be forced from the race of Alderney, where they anchored, to the eastward; and, finding that some of them endeavoured for the bay of Cherburgh, I stood in for that place, where I found three three-decked ships of the enemy, but so close to the shore, and within some rocks, that it was not safe for me to attempt them till I had informed myself of the road, they being hauled into shoal water.

"I immediately took my boats, and sounded within gun-shot of them, which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And, that no time might be lost, I went immediately on board the St. Alban's, where, for the encouragement of the seamen I hoisted my flag, and, having ordered the Ruby with two fire-ships to attend me, I stood in with them, leaving the great ships without, as drawing too much water. But, coming very near, they galled so extremely, and, finding the five ships could not get in, I judged it best to retreat without shot, and there anchored, and immediately called all the captains, when it was resolved to attack them in the morning with all the third and fourth rates, and fire-ships. But, after having drawn them into four fathoms and a half of water, I found we could not do our business, the water being shoal. Upon which I ordered three fire-ships to prepare themselves to attempt the burning of them, going myself with all the barges and tenders to take them up, if by the enemy's shot they should miscarry.

"Indeed, I may say, and I hope without vanity, the service was warm, yet, God be praised, so effectually performed, that, notwithstanding all their shot both from their ships and fort, two of our fire-ships had good success by burning two of them; the other, by an unfortunate shot, was set on fire, being just going on board the enemy. Indeed, so brave was the attempt, that I think they can hardly be sufficiently rewarded, and doubt not but their Majesties will do them right. The third French ship being run a-shore, and observing the people on board to go a-shore by boats-full, I ordered the St. Alban's, the Reserve, and others, to fire upon her, judging it might cause them to quit her. And, after having battered her some time, I observed she made no resistance, I took all the boats armed, and went on board her.

"I found abundance of men on board, and several wounded, but no officers; and having caused all the people as well those that

It is remarkable, that, though the confederate fleet was nearly double to that of the French, yet

were wounded as others, to be taken out, I set her on fire, and had I not had notice by my scouts, that thirty ships were standing with me, had sent all the French on shore, who are now very troublesome to me. The ships we saw proved to be Sir John Ashby and the Dutch, coming from the westward. We are proceeding together to the eastward to La Hogue, where I am informed three or four of the enemy's ships are; and, if so, I hope God will give us good success. I expect to find the admiral tomorrow, where I hope to hear he has destroyed some of the enemy's ships, having left him in chace of them last night, standing to the eastward, and pretty near them, as I judged. My lord, I hope you will excuse me, if I presume to pray you will use your interest with the queen, that a reward may be given to the three captains of the fire ships, and several of the others; for greater zeal and greater bravery I never saw. I pray your excuse for being thus tedious, and thus particular. Pray God preserve their Majesties; and that their arms may be ever crowned with success by sea and land, shall be the prayers and endeavours of, &c.

" *Cherburgh*, *May* 22, 1692.

" *P.S.* Captain Heath burnt Tourville's ship the Royal Sun, which was the most difficult; Captain Greenway burnt the other, called the Conquerant. The Admirable was burnt by our boats. Captain Fowlis attempted the Royal Sun, but was set on fire by the enemy's shot, yet deserves as well as the others."

ADMIRAL RUSSEL'S LETTER TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

" My Lord, *Portsmouth*, *June* 2, 1692.

" Since your lordship seems to think, that an account in general of the fleet's good success, is not so satisfactory as one setting forth the particulars, I here send it with as much brevity as the matter will admit of. I must confess I was not much inclined to trouble you in this nature, not being ambitious to see my name in print on any occasion; but since it is your lordship's command, I am the more inclined to give you the best information I am able of the action, having seen several printed relations not very sincere.

" Wednesday in the evening, being the 18th of May, standing over for Cape La Hogue, I ordered Captain Gillam in the Chester, and the Charles Galley, to lie at such a distance to the westward of the fleet, that they might discover any signals made from me.

" Thursday the 19th, standing with a small gale S. S. W. the wind at W. and W. by S. hazy weather, Cape Barfleur bearing then S. W. and by S. from me, distant about seven leagues. Between three and four in the morning, we heard several guns to the westward, and in a short time I saw the two frigates making the signal of seeing the enemy, with their heads lying to the northward, scarcely half of it could engage, which was owing to their original disposition, on this account, as the reader

which gave me reason to think that the enemy lay with their heads that way. Upon which, I ordered the signal to be made for the fleet's drawing into a line of battle; after which I made the signal for the rear of the fleet to tack, that, if the enemy stood to the northward, we might the sooner come to engage. But soon after four o'clock, the sun had a little cleared the weather, and I saw the French fleet standing to the southward, forming their line on the same tack that I was upon. I then ordered the signal for the rear to tack, to be taken in, and at the same time bore away with my own ship so far to leeward, as I judged each ship in the fleet might fetch my wake or grain; then brought to again, lying by with my fore top-sail to the mast, to give the ships in the fleet the better opportunity of placing themselves as they had been before directed. By eight o'clock we had formed an indifferent line, stretching from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. the Dutch in the van, the red in the centre, and the blue in the rear.

"By nine o'clock the enemy's van-guard had stretched almost as far to the southward as ours, their-admiral and rear-admiral of the blue, that were in the rear, closing the line, and their vice-admiral of the same division stretching to the rear of our fleet, but never coming within gun-shot of them. About ten they bore down upon us, I still lying with my fore-top-sail to the mast. I then observed Monsieur Tourville, the French admiral, put out his signal for battle. I gave orders that mine should not be hoisted till the fleets began to engage, that he might have the fairer opportunity of coming as near me as he thought convenient; and, at the same time, I sent orders to Admiral Allemonde, that, as soon as any of his squadron could weather the enemy's fleet, they should tack and get to the westward of them, as also to the blue to make sail and close the line, they being at some distance a-stern; but, as soon as the fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which prevented their so doing. About half an hour after eleven, Monsieur Tourville in the Royal Sun, being within three quarters musket-shot, brought to, lying by me at that distance about an hour and a half, plying his guns very warmly, though I must observe to you, that our men fired their guns faster. After which time I did not find his guns were fired with that vigour as before, and I could see him in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being shot, and nobody endeavouring to make them serviceable, and his boats towing of him to windward, gave me reason to think he was much galled. About two the wind shifted to the N. W. and by W. and some little time after that, five fresh ships of the enemy's blue squadron came and posted themselves three a-head of Monsieur Tourville, and two a-stern of him, and fired with great fury, which continued till after three.

may remember, the blue squadron, of which Sir George Rooke was rear-admiral, was directed to tack north

"About four in the evening there came so thick a fog, that we could not see a ship of the enemy's, which occasioned our leaving off firing for a long time; and then it cleared up, and we could see Monsieur Tourville towing away with his boats to the northward from us. Upon which I did the same, and ordered all my division to do the like; and, about half an hour after five, we had a small breeze of wind easterly. I then made the signal for the fleet to chace, sending notice to all the ships about me that the enemy were running. About this time I heard several broadsides to the westward; and, though I could not see the ships that fired, I concluded them to be our blue, that, by the shift of wind, had weathered the enemy; but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the red, who had weathered Tourville's squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue, where they lay firing some time; and then Tourville anchored with some ships of his own division, as also the rear-admiral of the red, with some of his. This was the time that Captain Hastings, in the Sandwich, was killed; he driving through those ships by reason of his anchors not being clear. I could not see this part, because of the great smoke and fog, but have received this information from Sir Cloudesley Shovel since.

"I sent to all the ships that I could think were near me, to chace to the westward all night, telling them I designed to follow the enemy to Brest, and sometimes we could see a French ship, two or three, standing away with all the sail they could make to the westward. About eight I heard firing to the westward, which lasted about half an hour, it being some of our blue fallen in with some of the ships of the enemy in the fog. It was foggy, and very little wind all night.

"Friday the 20th, it was so thick in the morning that I could see none of the enemy's ships, and but very few of our own. About eight it began to clear up: the Dutch, who were to the southward of me, made the signal of seeing the enemy; and, as it cleared, I saw about thirty-two or thirty-four sail, distant from us between two and three leagues, the wind at E. N. E. and they bearing from us W. S. W. our fleet chacing with all the sail they could make, having taken in the signal for the line of battle, that each ship might make the best of her way after the enemy. Between eleven and twelve the wind came to the S. W. The French plied to the westward with all the sail they could, and we after them. About four, the tide of ebb being done, the French anchored, as also we in forty-three fathom water, Cape Barfleur bearing S. and by W. About ten in the evening we weighed with the tide of ebb, the wind at S. W. and plied to the westward.

ward, and to weather, not at all to any deficiency in that admiral, as Bishop Burnet alleges: yet the de-

About twelve my fore-top mast came by the board, having received several shot.

"Saturday the 21st, we continued still plying after the enemy till four in the morning. The tide of ebb being done, I anchored in forty-six fathom water, Cape La Hogue bearing S. and by W. and the island of Alderney S. S. W. By my topmast's going away, the Dutch squadron, and the admiral of the blue, with several of his squadron, had got a great way to windward of me. About seven in the morning, several of the enemy's ships being far advanced towards the race, I perceived them driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Between eight and nine, when they were driven so far to the eastward that I could fetch them, I made the signal for the fleet to cut and follow the enemy, which they all did, except the afore-mentioned weathermost ships, which rid fast to observe the motion of the rest of the enemy's ships that continued in the race of Alderney. About eleven, I saw three great ships fair under the shore, tack and stand to the westward; but, after making two or three short boards, the biggest of them ran ashore, who presently cut his masts away; the other two, being to leeward of him, plied up to him. The reason, as I judge, of their doing this, was, that they could not weather our sternmost ships to the westward, nor get out a-head of us to the eastward.

"I observing that many of our ships hovered about those, I sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was in the rear of our fleet, to keep such a number of ships and fire-ships with him as might be sufficient to destroy those of the enemy, and to order the others to follow me, I being then in pursuit of the rest of the enemy: an account of the performing that service I do not trouble your lordship with, he having given it you already. About four in the afternoon, eighteen sail of the enemy's ships got to the eastward of Cape Barfleur, after which I observed they hauled in for La Hogue: the rear-admiral of the red, vice-admiral of the blue, and some other ships, were a-head of me. About ten at night I anchored in the bay of La Hogue, and lay till four the next morning, being

"Sunday the 22d; and then I weighed and stood in near the land of La Hogue; but, when we found the flood came, we anchored in a good sandy ground. At two in the afternoon we weighed again, and plied close in with La Hogue, where we saw thirteen sail of the enemy's men of war hauled close in with the shore. The rear-admiral of the red tells me, that the night before he saw the other five, which made up the eighteen I first chaced, stand to the eastward.

"Monday the 23d, I sent in Vice-admiral Rooke with several feat was one of the most signal that ever happened at sea. If, indeed, Sir John Ashby could have

men of war and fire-ships, as also the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships; but the enemy had gotten them so near the shore, that not any of our men of war, except the small frigates, could do any service; but that night Vice-admiral Rooke, with the boats, burnt six of them.

"Tuesday the 24th, about eight in the morning, he went in again with the boats, and burnt the other seven, together with several transport-ships, and some vessels with ammunition, the names of which ships I am not yet able to give your lordship any other account of, than what I formerly sent you, which are as follow:

Ships' names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Soleil Royal,	Count De Tourville,	104
L'Ambitieux,	Chevalier De la Villette, vice-admiral of the blue,	104
L'Admirable,	Monsieur Beaujeau,	90
La Magnifique,	Monsieur Cottologon, rear-admiral of the blue,	76
Le St. Philip,	Monsieur Infreville,	76
Le Conquerant,	Du Magnon,	76
Le Triumphant,	Monsieur Bellemont,	74
L'Etonant,	Monsieur de Septime,	80
Le Terrible,	Monsieur Septvilla,	80
L'Aimable,	Monsieur de Raal,	68
Le Fier,	Monsieur Larsethoir,	68
Le Glorieux,	Le C. Chateaumoorant,	60
Le Serieux,	Monsieur Bernier,	60
Le Trident,	Monsieur Monteaud,	56

"All the prisoners report a three-deck ship burnt by accident, and the following sunk, how true I do not know:

Ships' names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Le Prince,	Monsieur Bagneuz,	60
Le Sanspareil,	Monsieur Ferille,	60

"Though these be all the names that I have been able to learn, yet I am sure there are sixteen ships of consequence burnt.

"Wednesday the 25th, I sailed from La Hogue, ordering the admiral of the blue, with a squadron of English and Dutch ships under his command, to run along the enemy's coast, as far as Havre de Grace, in hopes that some of the before-mentioned five ships, that stood to the eastward, might have been got thither; but he informs me that, upon his appearing before that place, he reached those that took shelter in St. Maloe's, it had, in a good measure, put an end to the French power at sea. As it was, we must acknowledge it a most glorious victory, and that we ought to pay a just tribute of praise to the memories of all the brave men who achieved it.

We find this affair, notwithstanding all the ruinous consequences that attended it, treated in such a style by the French writers, as to make it appear rather a victory than a defeat; and all this is founded on the single circumstance of their attacking the English fleet. In order to explain that, we must observe, that Count Tourville found himself obliged to take this step, in obedience to his orders, which were so express, that they did not leave any room for him to exercise his judgment. He called a council of war, indeed, the night before the engagement, wherein most of the officers gave their opinions, that, considering the superiority of the confederate fleet, and

could perceive but one or two small vessels. The number of the enemy's ships did not exceed fifty men of war, by the best information, from fifty-six to one hundred and four guns; and, though it must be confessed, that our number was superior to theirs, which probably, at first, might startle them, yet, by their coming down with that resolution, I cannot think it had any great effect upon them: and this I may affirm for a truth, not with any intention to value our own action, or to lessen the bravery of the enemy, that they were beaten by a number considerably less than theirs, the calmness and thickness of the weather giving very few of the Dutch or the Blue the opportunity of engaging, which I am sure they look upon as a great misfortune; and, had the weather proved otherwise, I do not see how it was possible for any of them to have escaped us.

"This is the exactest account that I am able to give you, which I hope will prove to your lordship's satisfaction. Vice-admiral Rooke has given me a very good character of several men employed in the boats, and I have ordered him to give me a list of the names of such persons whose behaviour was remarkable, in order to their reward. I am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful,
Humble Servant,
E. RUSSEL."

the situation themselves were in, it was most prudent to avoid fighting. Upon this, after declaring his own sentiments to be the same with theirs, he produced the king's orders, which appeared to be so precise for fighting the English, whether strong or weak, that it was unanimously resolved to obey them. Several reasons have been assigned for the French king's giving such orders; and among these the most probable is, that he was mistaken as to the strength of both fleets.

As to his own, he looked upon it as certain, that Count D'Estrees, with his squadron, would have joined the fleet before any opportunity offered of fighting, and that Count Tourville's line of battle should have consisted of sixty-six ships at least. He was, however, deceived in both: Count D'Estrees met with such bad weather in passing the Straights of Gibraltar, that, notwithstanding all the pains he could take, his squadron did not arrive at La Hogue till after the battle; and, though there were at that time sixty-six French men of war at sea, yet, from the detachments made for particular services, Count Tourville had but forty-four actually under his command, when he took this resolution to fight. On the other side it was presumed, that the English and Dutch fleets could not have joined so early, and that, if they had, still it would have been impossible for them to unite with their two great squadrons then at sea, before the junction of the French fleets. In this, too, the king's foresight failed him: but then it was owing to that bold stroke of Admiral Russel before-mentioned, by which he joined the Dutch squadron ten days sooner than he could have done, if he had taken his pilot's advice.

There is yet another circumstance mentioned by French authors, as supposed by some to have been a reason for the king's orders, and it is this, that the greatest part of the English fleet were expected to desert, from which it is pretended they were deterred by finding Count Tourville so weak. As these very authors treat this story as a calumny, there seems to be the less reason for my refuting it: yet, since it may be done in very few words, I cannot but observe, that this is absolutely contradicted by another circumstance, in which both our writers and theirs agree, *viz.* that, upon the junction of our fleet, the French king sent two orders by different routes to Count Tourville, to forbid his fighting for that reason: but the master of a small vessel, which carried one, was taken off Cape Barfleur by Captain Wyville, before he could join the French fleet; and the other, which came over land, was too late by several days. This, however, plainly proves, that King Louis did not depend upon the desertion of the English fleet, but upon their not joining the Dutch.

After a particular account of the first day's engagement, the Marquis De Quincy proceeds thus: "As to the advantage gained in this fight, it must be allowed us, that Count Tourville did not lose so much as a ship, nor had he any that were disabled; while, on the other hand, the enemy lost two, one sunk, and the other disabled. The rest of their ships were as ill treated as his, besides their spending abundance of fire-ships without any effect. Thus, in spite of the prodigious inequality of the fleets, the success was at least equal in the first day's engagement: it is true, it happened otherwise in the succeeding days, in which, however, there fell out nothing that ought to tarnish the reputation of France at sea, since, while there remained any room for courage to exert itself, they not only acted gallantly in their own defence, but made themselves respected by their enemies. What afterwards followed was the effect of unforeseen accidents, and inevitable misfortunes."

Yet, after this fine flourish, the marquis fairly confesses, the French flags ran for it, and that their other ships did the best they could to follow them; but partly through the want of safe ports on their own coasts, and partly through the vigorous pursuit of the English, they were burnt and destroyed in the manner before-related. Neither doth this writer, or any other of the French historians, pretend to diminish their own loss, or to say that our admirals did not do their duty. On the contrary, they ascribe the safe retreat of part of their ships into the road of St. Maloe's, to their lucky passage through that dangerous straight, which I have before mentioned.

When Admiral Russel was satisfied, that the grand fleet could not do any farther service against the French, the season of the year and their circumstances considered, he resolved to return to St. Helen's, as well to refit the vessels that were damaged in the late fight, as to obtain a supply of provisions and ammunition. This design he executed very happily, since he had scarcely left the French coast, before the weather became so tempestuous, that his heavy ships must have suffered exceedingly, and such as had lost their masts would probably have perished. Yet this measure, so prudent in itself, and so fortunate in its event, has been censured, as if the admiral had shewn too great eagerness to be at home, and too little care to prosecute his victory.

However, before he took this step, he left Sir John Ashby with twelve English ships, and three fireships, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron of like force, commanded by Vice-admiral Callemberg, with orders to sail to Havre de Grace, and to attempt the destruction of so many of the French fleet as had taken shelter there; which service, indeed, they did not perform, the enemy's situation, and the stormy weather, rendering it altogether impracticable. So that to blame the admiral for not exposing the fleet, when it was impossible for him to have done any thing, is to shew a disposition of finding fault at the expence of the nation's safety, since succeeding commanders are not likely to use their judgments freely, when they find their predecessors suffer in reputation for doing what prudence, and regard to the safety of the fleet, directed. The true reason, or rather the principal reason, which influenced Admiral Russel on this occasion was, his desire to make the most of his victory, by immediately taking on board the troops intended for a descent, and carrying them over, with all possible expedition, to the coast of France.

It is not easy to give any tolerable account of this descent, since neither our public historians, nor the writers of private memoirs, have been able to leave us any certain scheme of this design, farther than that it was to be a descent on the French coast, in order to alarm and distract that nation. Thus much is certain, that both we and the Dutch seemed to have very great confidence in this expedition, which was provided for at a vast expence, and in order to which a promotion of officers was made on purpose. At first several regiments of horse were intended to have been sent; but at last these were reduced to fifty horse, and two hundred dragoons. It is evident enough from his conduct, that Admiral Russel was not in the secret of this scheme, if indeed there was any such secret, but knew in general only, that these troops were designed to land in France, and therefore he thought this the most proper opportunity for executing the project, be it what it would.

This was his great motive for returning to the English coast; and, to be sure, he acted therein with great judgment and prudence. In his passage, however, he met with very rough weather, and, on his arrival, with a very great disappointment; for instead of finding the troops ready to embark, and himself furnished with orders and instructions for the execution of the enterprise, he was informed by letters from the secretary of state, that no certain resolution was as yet taken in what service to employ them, but that this was left to be settled by a general council of land and sea-officers, when the fleet and the transports should be joined. The plain source of all this confusion was, that the ministers of state were not disposed to take upon themselves the direction of an affair, which they were apprehensive would miscarry, but were willing to put it upon the land and sea officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

At last, very late in the month of July, the transports, with the forces on board, joined the fleet; and, on the 28th of the same month, a council of war was held on board the Breda, where the schemes, or rather hints of the ministry were seriously considered, and, upon the whole, resolved to be impracticable *. The admiral, however, sent Sir John

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* We have this in Burchet from the original; and, as it is absolutely necessary for the perfect understanding this part of the history, I shall lay it before the reader.

At a council of war, held on board the Breda the 28th of July, present, flag-officers, the right honourable Edward Russel, admiral; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the Red; George Rooke, Esq. vice-admiral of the Blue; Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the Red; David Mitchell, Esq. first captain to the admiral.

Dutch. Admiral Allemonde; Vice-admiral Callemberg; Rear-admiral Vandergoes; Rear-admiral Evertzen; Rear-admiral Muys.

General and field officers. His Grace, the duke of Leinster, lieutenant-general of all the forces; Earl of Galway; Sir Henry Bellasise; Monsieur De la Meloniere; Sir David Collier; Colonel Beveride; Monsieur De Cambon; Colonel Selwin; Earl of Argyle.

The resolutions they came to follow: "The matter of burning the ships at St. Maloe's being maturely considered, Vice-admiral Rooke, and Vice-admiral Callemberg (who were lately sent with a squadron of ships before that port), representing the great difficulty of carrying the ships in there, by reason of the multitude of rocks, and the rapidity of the tide, and the pilots refusing to conduct any frigates or fire-ships into the harbour, because the marks might be removed, it was the opinion of the flag-officers, that it was not practicable to attempt any thing against the enemy's ships at St. Maloe's with any part of the fleet, until the town itself could be so far reduced by the land forces, as that ships might not receive any great annoyance from the enemy's guns in the attempt; and the general and field officers of the army, were of opinion, Ashby with a stout squadron to endeavour, if possible, to intercept the French fleet, which was every day expected to sail from St. Maloe's to Brest; and, as soon as this was done, the admiral, with the rest of the fleet and the transports, sailed for La Hogue.

Secretary Burchet seems to say, that in his passage he received orders from the queen to return, and that, in obedience to these orders, he came back in a few days to St. Helen's. Yet there is something very improbable in this, if we consider, that as soon as an express, dispatched by the duke of Leinster, arrived at Whitehall with this news, the queen sent down to the fleet the marquis of Caermarthen then lord-president of the council, the earl of Devonshire lord-stew-

that the troops could not do any service at that place without the assistance of the fleet.

"It was then considered, whether it was feasible to make any attempt on the enemy's ships at Brest; and although the flag officers were of opinion, that an attempt might be made there with some hopes of success, if the summer had not been so far spent, yet, considering the winter was approaching, they did not think it proper to attack the enemy's ships in that port, since the fleet might be exposed to very great inconveniences, should they be wind-bound near that place; and it was the opinion of the general and field officers of the army, that they should not be able to do any service there against the enemy, unless they could be protected by the fleet. The flag officers, likewise, thought it not safe for the fleet to attempt any thing against the enemy at Rochfort, the season of the year being so far spent, and the place itself lying so deep in the bay.

"It was in the next place considered, whether the fleet might lie with safety on the coast of Normandy to protect the army in an attempt either at Havre de Grace, La Hogue, or any place thereabout; and the flag officers judged, that it might lie with safety on that coast, until towards the end of the next month, in case their Majesties service should require it."

The flags came also to the following separate resolution:

"That, since the transport ships with the land forces were come to the fleet, in order to try what might be done against the enemy either at St. Maloe's, Brest, or Rochfort, it was their opinion that something might have been attempted with probability of success, were not the season of the year so far spent as not to admit of the fleet's going with safety thither."

ard, the earl of Dorset lord-chamberlain, the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, and the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to know the reason of their return, and to take proper measures for their putting to sea again immediately. These lords on their arrival found all the troops, except two regiments, on board, and the fleet wind-bound. Every body then expected that the troops would reimbark, and at last they did so; but, instead of proceeding to France, they sailed under the escort of a squadron of men of war, part to Ostend, and part to Newport. There were two hundred and forty transport-ships, six or seven thousand men, a prodigious quantity of ammunition of all sorts, and whatever seemed requisite for executing a great design, though so little came of it.

One cannot wonder, that, on so flagrant a miscarriage as this, the mouths of all the world were opened. The English, who are not very famous for their patience on such occasions, made no difficulty of saying, that the nation was plundered and abused, and that, after immense sums were drawn out of the people's pockets by the most grievous and burdensome taxes, they were idly squandered away in chimerical projects. The Dutch scrupled not to exclaim against the treachery of the king's counsellors, and to affirm that every thing, that was transacted at London, was so speedily betrayed to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any success from designs concerted there. The French, according to their usual manner, exulted strangely on their deliverance, and attributed to the wisdom and power of Louis XIV. what was the pure effect of cross accidents and party resentments.

I must not, however, forget, that some refined politicians pretended, that this scheme had its effect; that King William intended no more than alarming the French court, and obliging them to keep great bodies of men constantly on their coasts, and to be at a vast expence to watch the motion of this small body of troops, which gave his Majesty the greater liberty of acting in Flanders. Yet this appears strangely improbable, if we consider the return of the fleet to St. Helen's, since, if this had been the design, it would certainly have proceeded directly to Ostend. Others would persuade us, that the intention of the court was, to have landed the forces at port St. Sebastian's; but, when the orders were opened at sea, all the admirals were of opinion, that it was utterly impracticable. The resolutions of the council of war shew, that this conjecture was groundless. The bottom of the business was, a design upon Brest, which might have been executed, if the transports had been ready, as the admiral advised, in May. It is certain, therefore, wherever the fault lay, it was not in him.

After the sending these troops into Flanders, the great ships were ordered about to Chatham, and the fleet divided into squadrons, as was judged most convenient for the service: and thus ended the public transactions of this year. It may not, however, be amiss, before we speak of the parliamentary inquiry into the mistakes in the management of the navy, to mention one or two extraordinary exploits at sea, though of a private nature, and the rather, because otherwise things of this kind, though in respect to the persons who perform them very worthy of remembrance, must naturally sink into oblivion.

On the 24th of February, a French privateer took a small ship called the Friend's adventure, belonging to the port of Exeter; and on the 29th Captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the privateer, took out of her the master and five of his men, leaving none on board but the mate, Robert Lyde of Topsham, a man of twenty-three years of age, and John Wright a boy of sixteen, with seven Frenchmen, who had orders to navigate the ship to St. Maloe's. But, when they were off Cape La Hogue, a strong south-east wind drove them from the French coast; upon which the man and boy on the 6th of March, took their opportunity, when two of the Frenchmen were at the pump, one at the helm, one on the forecastle, and three sleeping in their cabins, to attack them.* The mate with an iron crow killed one of the men at the pump, and knocked down the other at one blow; the boy at the same instant knocked down the man on the forecastle, and then they secured and bound the man at the helm. One of the Frenchmen, running up from between decks to the assistance of his companions, was wounded by the mate; but the two others, coming to his relief, seized, and had like to have secured him, if the boy had not come up briskly to his assistance, and, after a sharp struggle, killed one, and gave the other quarter. Having thus made themselves master of the ship, they put the two, who were disabled by their wounds, into bed, ordered a third to look after them, and secured them between decks; one they kept bound in the steerage, and made use of the remaining man to navigate the vessel, which on the 9th of March they brought safely into Topsham, with five prisoners on board.

About the same time one Captain Richard Griffith, and his boy John Codanon, recovered their sloop, called the Tryal, from five Frenchmen, put on board them by a captain of a man of war; and having wounded three, and forced all five down into the hold, brought the vessel, with their prisoners, safe into Falmouth. These, though strong testimonies of prodigious firmness of mind, and daring resolution, yet at the same time shew, how much our trade was exposed to the French privateers; and indeed it must be confessed, that it suffered far less in the preceding year, when the French were masters at sea, than in this, when their grand fleet was blocked up in their ports.

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* A true and exact Account of the retaking a Ship, called the Friend's Adventure, of Topsham, from the French, after she had been taken six days; and they were upon the coasts of France with it four days, where one Englishman and a boy set upon seven Frenchmen, killed two of them, took the other five prisoners, and brought the ship and them safe to England; their Majesties customs of the said ship amounting to a thousand pounds and upwards. Performed and written by Robert Lyde, mate of the same ship. London, 1693, 4to.

This circumstance of our losing so many ships, after so great a victory at sea, excited much clamour, especially among the merchants, though the reasons assigned for it by the Board of Admiralty, were very plausible at least, if not satisfactory. They said, that the loss the French sustained so early in the year was the occasion of their seamen being dismissed the king's service, and suffered to go on board privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater force than ever, while, on the other hand, our keeping so great a fleet so long at sea rendered it impossible for the admiralty to furnish the merchants with proper convoys, at the same time that so large a number of men, as were employed on board the navy, forced our commanders of merchant-ships to proceed in their respective voyages worse manned than usual.

The king opened the sessions of parliament on the 4th of November, in which he took notice both of their great success, and great disappointments at sea, which gave occasion to the subsequent inquiries. On the 11th the House of Commons thanked Admiral Russel, in very strong terms, for his courage and conduct in the affair of La Hogue; but this did not prevent a warm debate on account of the opportunities that were said to be lost after that signal victory. The admiral furnished the house with all the letters, papers, and instructions that were necessary for their information, and entered into a large account of the whole affair. Then Sir John Ashby was examined as to his not executing the orders that were given him to destroy the French ships which got into St. Maloe's. Sir John cleared himself so handsomely, and set the whole matter in so fair a light, that the speaker, by order of the house, took notice of his ingenuous behaviour at the bar, which gave such satisfaction, that he was dismissed from farther attendance.

Then the business of the descent was brought on the carpet, which was also thoroughly explained by the admiral, who shewed, that there were no less than twenty days intervened between his letter to the earl of Nottingham and his lordship's answer. The House of Lords entered also into an examination of this matter, where the earl of Nottingham not only justified himself, but reflected very severely upon Admiral Russel; and the House went so far into his resentments, that, at a conference, they communicated to the Commons some papers which the king, at that lord's request, had directed to be laid before them. But this was so far from producing the desired effect, that, immediately on the reading them, the Commons resolved, that Admiral Russel in his command of the fleet, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved himself with fidelity, courage, and conduct.

In these debates, it appeared clearly to the House, that one great check on the public service was the want of timely and sufficient supplies; to remedy which in the succeeding year, they, on the 2d of December, resolved, that the sum of 1,926,516*l.* be granted to their Majesties for the charge of the navy, including the charge of the ordnance, and the finishing their Majesties naval yard at Hamoaze near Plymouth, and the building four bomb-vessels and eight new ships of the fourth rate. They likewise took notice of Admiral Russel's inveighing against the want of knowledge in sea affairs in such as pretended to direct them; and therefore a motion was made, that they should come to a resolution of addressing his Majesty to constitute a Board of Admiralty, composed of such persons as were of known experience in maritime affairs; but here the weight of the board, as it then stood, fully appeared, by its passing in the negative.*

Yet, to shew their distaste of the earl of Nottingham's interfering so much in maritime affairs, they addressed the king, that, for the future, all orders for the management of the fleet should pass through the hands of the commissioners of the admiralty.† But the admiral's victory here cost him too high a price; for the king, conceiving that he had shewn a much greater concern for his own interest and reputation than for his service, resolved, notwithstanding the great things he had done, to lay him aside for the present, and employ such as might make his affairs go easy; which design was executed soon after, though, as might have been readily foreseen, it failed of success.‡

The warmth that the parliament had expressed in providing for the sea-service, joined to the clamour that had been raised on the defeat of the late expedition, obliged the king to take very early care of whatever related to the affairs of the navy, that nothing might hinder the sending a stout fleet to sea in the beginning of the spring. In the month of January, therefore, his Majesty was pleased to make a great change in the command of the fleet, in which he was supposed to follow chiefly the advice of the earl of Nottingham. Instead of appointing an admiral and commander-in-chief, he granted a commission to Henry Killegrew, Esq Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to execute that office.* Bishop Burnet says, that the two first were thought to be so much in King James's interest, that it was believed the king was putting the fleet into the hands of such as would betray him; for, though no exception lay against Shovel, yet he was but one to two. Whether the bishop's conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the event very fully proved, that such a joint commission was a very bad expedient. Soon after, his Majesty made George Rooke, Esq. vice-admiral of the red, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq. rear-admiral of that squadron. John Lord Berkley, vice-admiral, and David Mitchell, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue; and these promotions were declared on the 8th of February following.

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* It was rightly foreseen, that a lord high-admiral might be much more easily called to account than lords commissioners, because, whenever the latter is done, the commissioners, if they have seats in parliament, must act against themselves. In this case the grand argument against the address was, that it reflected on his Majesty's judgment, and so a regard to compliment got the better of concern for the public.

† This address had a right intention; for, as things were managed before, the admiral was frequently more puzzled to understand his orders, than to execute them: and, whenever disputes arose about them, the admiral was sure to suffer; for the secretary intrenched himself behind his directions; so that there was no coming at him but through the council.

‡ Bishop Burnet represents the king's conduct in this respect in its true light, vol. ii. p. 103.

To give a still higher proof of the king's concern for, and attention to, this necessary part of the public service, his Majesty soon after went down to Portsmouth, as well to take a view of the state of the place and its fortifications, as to examine in person into the condition of that part of the fleet which was then there. On this occasion his Majesty went on board the ship where Vice-admiral Rooke had hoisted his flag, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon that admiral; after which he returned to London very well satisfied as to the condition of the fleet at Spithead. On the 12th of April the right honourable Anthony, Lord-viscount Falkland, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, Henry Priestman, Esq. Robert Austen, Esq. Sir Robert Rich, baronet, Henry Killegrew, Esq. and Sir Ralph Delaval, knight, were appointed commissioners of the admiralty.

The war in Flanders requiring his Majesty's presence early in the spring, the admirals were instructed to make all possible dispatch in getting out the fleet to sea, to endeavour, if possible to block up the enemy in their ports, especially in Brest, which was thought very practicable, and to take all possible care of the merchants. In order to comply with the first part of their charge, they began to take half the seamen out of privateers; but this, notwithstanding the pressing occasions of the public, and the great scarcity of men, was thought so heavy a grievance, and was besides so visible a favour to the enemy, that it was dropped. Then five regiments of foot were put on board, with a view to the debarkment at Brest, which was a scheme of some of the land-admirals, and was always thought, what it afterwards appeared to be, by the ablest of our seamen, a very dangerous, and at the same time a very impracticable project. Provisions running scarce, a mess was increased from four to six men; and yet, in spite of all these contrivances, they were not able to form a line of battle at St. Helen's till the 7th of May, 1693, which lost them the opportunity of blocking up either of the French squadrons.

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* London Gazette, No. 2839. Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. xiv. p. 231.

As to the merchants, their complaints grew still louder than ever; such as were concerned in the Levant or Mediterranean trade, had their ships lying waiting for a convoy many months, nay, some above a year and a half; and the excuses they received from the admiralty were of such a nature, as put it out of their power to judge when they might expect a convoy; for this, they were told, depended on the intelligence of the board, and the merchants were but too sensible that they had no intelligence at all.*

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* See the present State of Europe for the months of May and June, 1693. The complaints made by the merchants did not only run high, but were extremely well supported. They shewed, beyond the power of refutation, the folly of suffering ambition, interest, or intrigue, to prefer unqualified men to that board, which directed the naval power of England; and yet the mischief

This, indeed appears to have been the constant defect, and to have been pregnant with numberless misfortunes. It may deserve consideration, whether this is not incident to the very nature of such a commission. Persons might be found, who would risk corresponding with one great man; but to give informations to, or which may be laid before a whole board, and which may afterwards be called for by a House of Commons, is scarcely to be hoped for or expected. The single remedy for this is, to leave the procuring intelligence chiefly to the first lord, and empowering him to reward and to promise secrecy.

When the English and Dutch fleets joined, they made a formidable appearance, and every body expected something very considerable would be performed. It appeared, however, but too soon, that things were in their old condition: that, in short, the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their doing any thing of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions, to undertake any thing of themselves. In short, the only thing they could resolve on was, that Sir George Rooke should command the squadron appointed to convoy the Mediterranean fleet, and that, in case they had no exact intelligence of the French squadrons, the fleet should accompany Sir George into a certain latitude.

If this design had been executed as soon as it was formed and talked of, it had been honourable for the nation, and happy for the merchants; but the admirals were so timorous and diffident of their own power, that it was the beginning of June before they sailed; and even then they had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but took their measures at random; a circumstance not rashly to be asserted, and yet too important to be concealed, when supported by undeniable evidences.

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was not, in truth could not be, amended, because the more experienced people who had been long in the service, were thought disaffected: and so it appeared the remedy might have proved worse than the disease.

The French, on the other hand, acted with greater prudence, in the disposition of their naval strength this year, than they had done during the continuance of the war. In order to repair the mighty loss he had sustained at La Hogue, the French king bought several large ships, and turned them into men of war; caused such as wanted repair to be put, during the winter, into a condition to go to sea; and that they might not be detained for want of men, he suspended in a manner the whole trade of France for a year, by forbidding any ships to go to sea till his squadrons were manned: lastly, to raise the spirits of the seamen, as well as to encourage such officers as had done their duty in the last unlucky engagement, he made a grand naval promotion, which had precisely the effect he expected from it, and excited such a spirit of diligence and emulation, as is easier to be conceived than described. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this, when he is informed, that the French fleet sailed from the ocean for the Mediterranean in the middle of the month of May, in three squadrons, consisting, altogether, of seventy-one ships of war, besides tenders, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships; so that they were actually on the coast of Portugal, before our Smyrna fleet sailed. Almost all our writers agree, that the French fleet had very exact intelligence from hence, and laid their scheme for surprising this rich fleet very early in the winter. I cannot find any thing of this sort in the French writers I have met with; and yet they are ready enough to magnify the policy of their court upon other occasions; I would not, however, be understood to discredit what our authors say on this subject, since it is very probable they are in the right, and the French historians might either want proper information, or think it more glorious for the French arms to let this treacherous correspondence pass in silence.

The English fleet left Sir George Rooke with the Straits squadron on the 6th of June in the evening, about fifty leagues W. S. W. of Ushant, and returned to take up the cruizers, having all this time had no intelligence of the enemy. The lords of the admiralty at home, however, had an account directly from Portugal of M. Tourville's coming into Lagos bay, between Cape St. Vincent and Faro, with no less than one hundred and fourteen sail, great and small. This exceedingly alarmed the government, and advice was instantly dispatched to the fleet, which consisted now of sixty-nine ships of the line of battle.

On the 23d of June, a council of war was held at Torbay, in which it was resolved to bear away for Lisbon directly, in case they could be properly victualled; but to prevent all danger, orders were immediately dispatched to Sir George Rooke, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. If this resolution had been pursued, and the fleet had actually sailed for Lisbon, something might have been done worthy of the English nation. But upon the 1st of July another council of war was held, in which, though the queen's orders were produced for executing what themselves had before proposed, yet the flags came to a new resolution, which was, to submit it to her Majesty, whether, if the French squadrons were joined, and should sail north about, the coasts of England might not be exposed to some insult during their absence.

This was doing what they had always charged the council with doing; *viz* altering their scheme when it ought to be put in execution. They knew well enough, that a hint of the coast being in danger, would be sufficient to prevent their quitting it; and this was certainly what they now intended, and might easily have been discerned to be, what its consequences shewed it, a weak and ruinous measure, which exposed Sir George Rooke, and the rich fleet under his care, to be attacked by the whole force of France while we had a superior fleet riding, to no purpose in the world, in our channel. But it is now time to leave it, and speak of the conduct and fortune of that vice-admiral on this critical occasion. All these disasters proceeded from the factions then subsisting, when every officer acted according to the humour of his patron in the ministry; and as there was a strange disagreement in the public councils, this produced a like want of harmony amongst those who commanded the fleet.

It has been before observed, that the grand fleet quitted Sir George Rooke on the 6th of June, 1693, without having at that time any certain intelligence either of the force of the French squadrons, or where they were sailed; which put that admiral under very great difficulties, and, therefore, we cannot wonder, that he expressed some concern at the great risk the numerous fleet of merchantmen, under his convoy, was likely to run. It is true, his squadron was very strong, consisting of no less than twenty three men of war, and he had under him two flag officers of great courage and experience; *viz.* the Dutch Vice-admiral Vandergoes, and Rear-admiral Hopson. But then the merchantmen under his care were nearly four hundred, and these not only English and Dutch, but Danes, Swedes, Hamburghers, Flemings, &c. so that our reputation as a maritime power was in a manner staked for their safety.

When he left the fleet, he had a very fair and strong gale of wind, which carried him at such a rate as prevented any of the advice boats, sent with those fresh instructions we mentioned, from coming up with him; and he was so unlucky too as not to meet with any ships at sea that could give him notice of Marshal Tourville's fleet being in that part of the world. In this situation of things he pursued, as was his duty, his original instructions; and having left by the way the vessels bound for Bilboa, Lisbon,* St. Ubes, and other places, he continued his course for the Straits.

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* The new orders sent to him were to this purpose: That, in case he was obliged to go into the river of Lisbon, and received

On the 15th of June he ordered the Lark, a sixth rate man of war, and a prime sailer, to stretch a-head of his scouts in Lagos Bay, to get what intelligence they could of the enemy; but, through some oversight in the captain, this was not properly executed. The next day the scouts discovered two of the enemy's ships, and engaged them in the afternoon, till, perceiving eight or ten sail under the cape, they thought fit to quit the Frenchmen, to inform the admiral of what they had seen. Upon this, a council of war was called, in which the admiral's opinion, for lying by till the enemy's strength could be known, was over ruled.*

On the 17th, about break of day, ten sail of French men of war were discovered, with some small ships, which were chaced by part of the English squadron, and a fire-ship taken, the crew of which positively asserted, that the whole squadron, though there were three flags amongst them, consisted of no more than fifteen ships of the line. About noon the

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certain intelligence during his stay there, that the Toulon squadron had joined the rest of the French fleet, and were together gone northward from the coast of Portugal, he should leave a proper number of ships, both English and Dutch, to proceed up the Straits with the Turkey fleet, and himself return with the rest, and join the body of our fleet in those seas: and, not meeting them in his passage, to make the port of Plymouth, and there expect farther orders. But these instructions could be of no use to him since they were not sent till the 23d, and he fell in with the French three days afterwards. Secretary Burchet, indeed, says, they were sent the 3d of June; but his own account shews that to be impossible, since he owns, that Sir George did not quit the grand fleet till the 6th.

* This seems to have been the principal cause of all the mischief that afterwards followed. Indeed the admiral was so sensible of the dangerous consequences that might attend the not taking this step, as to call in five or six captains, who were on board his ship by chance, in order to have their opinions; and they agreeing with the council of war, he was forced to submit after all, directly contrary to his judgment.

falsity of this assertion was discovered, and Sir George Rooke easily counted eighty sail of men of war. Sixteen of these, amongst which were three flags, plied up to the English squadron, whilst the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, that he might fall in among the merchant ships.

The Dutch vice-admiral about three o'clock sent a message to Sir George Rooke, that being now sensible of the strength of the French fleet, which he doubted before as well as of their design, he thought it absolutely necessary to avoid fighting, as it could only tend to their absolute ruin. At this time they were within four miles of the enemy, and it was the sentiment of Sir George himself, that they were too far advanced to think of retreating; and, therefore, before he received this message, he was resolved to push for it; but considering afterwards, that, if the Dutch admiral had formed a right judgment, and both the squadron and the fleet under their convoy should suffer greatly by this measure, the blame would fall entirely on himself, he brought to and stood off with an easy sail, that the Dutch and the heavy ships might work up to the windward. He, at the same time, sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to use their utmost endeavours in the night to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. This was all that was in the power of the admiral to do, and it is certain, that these orders were extremely well calculated for lessening, as much as possible, the misfortune; and it shewed great presence of mind in Sir George Rooke, to provide so wisely for the most distant part of the fleet when himself and those about him were in such imminent danger.

The admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, with about ten sail of the enemy's fleet, fetched up the English squadron very fast, so that about six in the evening they came up with two Dutch men of war, and some merchant ships of that nation. The men of war were commanded by the Captains Schrijver and Vander Poel, who finding themselves under the wind, and therefore without probability of escaping, tacked in for the shore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which saved the rest of the fleet. The Dutch captains made a most gallant and desperate defence, but were at last overpowed by numbers, and taken.

The admiral stood off all night, having a fresh gale at N. N. W. and the next morning found fifty-four ships about him, among which were only two Dutch, and one Hamburgher. Five sail of the enemy's ships appeared to the leeward, and two to the windward, which last dogged him all day. On the nineteenth, Sir George Rooke sent for the officers of the men of war and merchant ships, on board, in order to get the best account he could of the state they were in, and to concert the most proper measures for securing the remainder. In this council, most of the officers present were for going either to Lisbon, or bearing away for Ireland. The admiral, however, considering that they had not water enough on board, to enable them to carry the last-mentioned scheme into execution, and having also some hopes of meeting with part of his scattered fleet at the Madeiras, he determined to sail thither; which he accordingly performed.

If the enemy, in executing this design of theirs, had shewed the same dexterity as in contriving, it is not easy to conceive how any part of the fleet of merchantmen could have been saved. But whether their admirals made a wrong disposition, or whether their orders were but indifferently obeyed, certain it is, that they did not strike near so heavy a blow as they might have done. Yet the mischief they did was very great, and severely felt both by the English and Dutch trade. According to some accounts, besides four of the largest Smyrna ships, which M. Coetlogon burnt or sunk at Gibraltar, and seven which he took, M. De Tourville and the Count D' Estrees took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an English man of war; took twenty-nine merchantmen, and destroyed about fifty more. The value of the cargoes, and the men of war together, might amount to one million sterling or thereabout; whereas the French, if they had taken the whole fleet, (as, considering their prodigious superiority, they might easily have done), must have been gainers of upwards of four millions. As it was, the loss fell very heavy upon us without much enriching them.*

The French writers treat this affair as one of the most glorious actions ever performed by their arms at sea. M. De Quincy gives us a very concise account of the engagement, and then runs into a long detail of the prizes that were taken, and of the rich cargoes with which they were laden. He seems to be mistaken in many circumstances; particularly in reporting our squadron to have consisted of twenty-seven men of war, and these too, he makes much larger ships than they were. Father Daniel informs us, that M. Tourville at first apprehended the whole confederate fleet to have been ready to attack him; and, as he had not yet joined Count D'Estrees, he thought proper to detach twenty sail of stout ships to fall upon the English, in case they proved the Smyrna fleet, and disposed the rest of his ships in the best order possible for supporting them. This, he says, was executed so vigorously, that sixty merchantmen were burnt, sunk, or run a-shore, and twenty-seven taken.

The different relations published at that time admit a great mismanagement in the French commanders; some of them charge it upon M. Tourville, others on

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* I ground my computation on the account given by the Dutch writers; for, notwithstanding the noise this affair made in England, and its becoming afterwards, as the reader will find, the subject of a parliamentary enquiry; yet no certain or exact account was ever published here.

M. Gabaret.* The truth seems to be, that M. Tourville's orders for stretching out to sea, at the beginning of the action, were not well obeyed; and that the pressing so hard on the two Dutch men of war, and the ships that remained with them, was a false step they could never afterwards recover. In order, however, to hide these mistakes from the eyes of the people of France, and to magnify the advantage gained to the utmost, a pompous account was printed at Toulon, full of very extraordinary circumstances, and swelling the loss of the English and Dutch to the amount of sixty millions of livres; that is, to about three times as much as it really was. The modesty and impartiality of the Dutch accounts of this unfortunate affair, deserve particular notice. They state the loss very nearly as high as the best French writers; but at the same time they confess it would have been much greater, but for the prudence of Sir George Rooke, on whose conduct they bestow such praises, as a complete victory would scarcely have extorted from his countrymen. I am, however, inclined to think he deserved them; because even Bishop Burnet, who was no great friend to that admiral, does not pretend to find out one wrong step in this whole proceeding.†

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* I meet with this in the Gazettes and Journals of those times, which say, that M. Tourville threw the blame upon Gabaret, as not punctually obeying his orders; as, on the other hand, Gabaret charged it on the marshal, as not acting vigorously enough, which reflection is said to have put him upon exposing himself in such a manner at Malaga, as had like to have cost him his life.

† The Sieur Du Mont, who then wrote a political journal in Holland, gives this account of the matter:

"This is certain, that they missed the greatest part of the convoy, and that Sir George Rooke, upon this occasion, acquired infinitely more honour than those who commanded the French fleet. While the one, though unable to resist such as attacked him, in the midst of threatening dangers, by his prudence, dexterity, and courage, saved the best part of the fleet committed to his charge, at a time that others suffered themselves to be deprived, by the superior skill of this admiral, of a booty, which, if they could have kept, fortune put into their hands."

But the consequences of this engagement were no less fatal than the action itself; for M. Tourville, to make amends for letting so great a part of the English fleet escape, resolved to do his utmost to take or destroy such ships as had retired into the Spanish ports. With this view, he came on the twentieth of July before Malaga, and sent a message to the governor, that he had no design to injure the town, unless they attempted to defend the English and Dutch ships; in which case he would bombard it. The governor answered, he had the king of Spain's orders to protect them, and therefore, as his duty required, he would do it to the utmost of his power. There were four Dutch ships and one English in the mole, which he attacked with great fury. The men on board the ships made a long and gallant defence, especially the Union frigate, which the French twice attempted to burn, and were as often repulsed. But when it appeared a thing impossible to preserve the ships any longer, against so unequal a force, the masters thought proper to bore holes and sink them.

To Cadiz they sent a squadron of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, and soon after followed with the whole fleet. But they were able to effect little; for the English and Dutch ships immediately retired out of the road into the port, where they were so well protected by the cannon of the place, that the French were forced to content themselves with burning two ships they had intercepted in the road, and had hindered from getting in with the rest.* At Gibraltar, after an obstinate defence, several rich ships were burnt and sunk, together with a Dutch man of war. The Marquis De Quincy, after relating these exploits particularly, tells us, that Marshal Tourville sent twenty-four prizes into Toulon, and computes the whole loss at thirty-six millions of livres, or thereabout.* It is now time to return to Admiral Rooke, and the care taken by him of the remainder of the fleet of merchantmen under his protection.

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* According to a Spanish list printed at Seville, the ships preserved here were three English men of war, sixteen merchantmen, two Dutch men of war, eleven merchant ships, three Danes, two Hamburghers, one Swede, one Ostender, and one Venetian. Burchet reflects, notwithstanding this, on the governor of Cadiz; but, for all that I can find, without any reason; for, as to sending M. Tourville some fresh provisions for his own table, I look upon it as an act of civility, not of treachery.

When he formed a resolution of going to the Madeiras, he sent home the Lark man of war with the news of his misfortune, and then continued his course for those islands, where he found at his arrival the Monk, Captain Fairborne, and no other ship. After taking in water, and what other things he had occasion for there, on the twenty-seventh of June he sailed for Ireland, and, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1693, he arrived safely at Cork, with about fifty sail of ships of all sorts, men of war and merchantmen. Soon after his arrival he received orders from the admirals, to send six of the largest ships to the fleet, and to go with the rest to Kingsale. But Sir George, conceiving that little service could be expected from the latter, because they were in a very bad condition, chose therefore to send them under the command of Captain Fairborne to Kingsale, and went in person with the six men of war to the fleet, of the proceedings of which, from the time of Sir George Rooke's departure, we are next to speak, though that is both a difficult and unpleasant subject.

The flag-officers held a council of war on the ninth of July, in which it was resolved to sail forty leagues S. W. of Ushant, and there to consider what would be the next convenient step for intercepting the enemy's fleet in their return from the Mediterranean. In pursuance of this resolution, they put to sea two days after; but were so terribly ruffled by a storm, that they were forced to return into Torbay. Upon the seventeenth, the wind proving fair, they put to sea again, and proceeded to their intended station, from whence they sent out light ships in search of Sir George Rooke, and to cruize on the Spanish coast, in order to get some intelligence of the enemy. The former carried the orders we have before-mentioned to the admiral; but the latter were not so lucky as to give any light into the proceedings of the French fleet.

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* The marquis steers in the middle. Marshal Tourville's own account says, the masters of the ships that were taken, computed the loss at twenty millions; and the relation published by authority at Toulon, speaks of sixty millions.

While things were in this condition, an accident happened which might have been attended with very ill consequences. Our fleet had sailed when they were very indifferently furnished with provisions, upon a promise that these should be immediately sent after them. In the beginning of the month of August, fifty vessels, laden with provisions, proceeded from the river Thames in quest of the fleet, under the convoy of two English and five Dutch men of war: but the fleet being forced from their station, they not only missed them, but lost their convoy. They met, however, with Sir George Rooke's squadron, in its passage from Kingsale, and he brought them safe to the fleet on the sixteenth of August; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month they had orders to return to St. Helen's, where they put the four regiments, that had been on board the whole summer, on shore; and then the fleet was dispersed, having done as little for the honour of the English nation, as any fleet that ever was fitted out.

On the nineteenth of September, 1693, fifteen Dutch ships of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his Majesty to Holland; and twenty-six men of war, and seven fire-ships, were assigned for the winter guard, which it was then thought would have put an end to the military operations of this year; but it soon after appeared, that there was yet a secret expedition to be attempted, in order to soften a little the joy of the French for having taken the Smyrna fleet.

On the thirteenth of November, Commodore Benbow, in conjunction with Captain Philips, the engineer, with a squadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-vessels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, sailed for St. Maloe's, where they arrived on the sixteenth, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-Fort. Three of the bomb-vessels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in, and anchored within half a mile of the town. About eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were constrained to warp, to prevent grounding. On the seventeenth they went in again, and threw seventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the eighteenth, but with frequent intermissions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed on an island near the town, and burnt a convent. On the nineteenth, being Sunday, they lay still till the evening, when, by the favour of a fresh gale of wind, a strong tide, and a very dark night, they sent in an extraordinary fire-ship, of about three hundred tons burden, which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes; and indeed would have done it, but for an unforeseen accident, for she struck upon a rock, within pistol-shot of the place where they intended to have moored her.

The engineer, who was on board, did all he could to get her off, but to no purpose. At last, finding the vessel begin to open, and fearing she might sink, he set fire to her. The sea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcasses from taking fire. The explosion, however, was terrible beyond description; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glass and earthenware for three leagues round, and struck off the roofs of three hundred houses. The most extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capstern of the vessel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a house it fell upon down to the ground.* The greatest part of the walls towards the sea fell down also; and if there had been a sufficient number of land-troops on board, the place might with ease have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demolished Quince-Fort, carried off eighty prisoners, and frightened most of the people out of the town. This expedition was well timed, and well executed. It struck a panic into the inhabitants of St. Maloe's, whence the most troublesome of the French privateers were fitted out, and it served to awaken that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the sea, by shewing them what a very small squadron of English ships could do, when commanded by men of resolution and experience.

The king returned to England in the latter end of the month of October, 1693, under the escort of a small squadron of men of war, commanded by Rear-admiral Mitchel. On the sixth of November, his Majesty declared his resolution to employ Admiral Russel the next year at sea. On the seventh the parliament met, and his Majesty opened the sessions with a speech, which began thus: "I am always glad to meet you here, and I could heartily wish that our satisfaction were not lessened at present, by reflecting upon the disadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miscarriages in our affairs at sea. I think it is evident, that the former were only occasioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which has brought so great a disgrace upon the nation, I have resented it extremely,* and, as I will take care that those who have not done their duty shall be punished, so I am resolved to use my utmost endeavours that our power at sea may be rightly managed for the future. And it may well deserve your consideration, whether we are not defective both in the number of our shipping, and in proper ports to the westward, for the better annoying our enemies and protecting our trade, which is so essential to the welfare of this kingdom." Upon this the House of Commons came unanimously to a resolution, that they would support their Majesties and their government, inquire into the miscarriages of the fleet in the preceding summer, and consider of all possible ways and means for conserving the trade of the nation.

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* The French writers say, that this was one of those dreadful machines styled Infernals; which the Dutch made use of to destroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the prince of Parma seized Antwerp, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive, by the following description, that it was in fact a fire-ship, contrived to operate when moored close to the town walls. It was a new ship of about three hundred, or, as M. De Quincy says, three hundred and fifty tons. At the bottom of the hold were a hundred barrels of powder; these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots; over which lay beams bored through, to give air to the fire; and upon these lay three hundred carcasses filled with grenadoes, chain-shot, iron bullets, pistols loaded, and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glass bottles. There were six holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were so vehement, as to consume the hardest substances; and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer, who contrived this vessel, was blown up in her; because they found the body of a man well dressed, upon the shore, and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the vessels.

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* There had been an inquiry set on foot before the council, as appears from the following notice, printed in the London Gazette, October 26th, 1693, No. 2917.

"Whereas a report had been raised, and spread, by Henry Killegrew, Esq. Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admirals of their Majesties fleet, that the right honourable the Lord Viscount Falkland, one of the lords of their Majesties most honourable privy council (he was also at the head of the admiralty), did, upon reading a paper at the board, stifle something that was material to their justification; the lords of the council, having considered and examined into the matter, are satisfied, and do declare, that the report is false and scandalous. Although, upon the said examination, it did also appear, that something happened which might mislead the admirals into that error. And it is ordered in council, that this be printed and published in the Gazette."

The House of Commons, to shew that they were in earnest, examined all the admirals strictly, particularly Sir George Rooke, though he was so ill as to be scarcely able to speak, and withal so lame of the gout, that a chair was set for him at the bar of the House. On the seventeenth of November they came to a resolution, "That, upon examination of the miscarriage of the fleet, this house is of opinion, that there hath been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement in that affair." Yet, afterwards, a negative was put on a resolution to censure the admirals commanding in chief; and so, by degrees, after much noise and clamour, the matter blew over.

Two circumstances contributed principally to their safety; the first was, that it could not be made clear to the house, that the admirals had information of the Brest squadron's putting to sea on the 11th of May, though it was evident that such advice had been given to the privy-council; the second, that the Lord Falkland, who was very active in this prosecution of the admirals, fell under the displeasure of the house for very indirect practices in relation to the navy; which gave the more offence, because he was at that time first commissioner of the admiralty. Upon the whole, regard to truth obliges me to say, that there was enough done in this affair to irritate and inflame, and very little to calm or satisfy the nation; which last, however, ought to be the end of all parliamentary inquiries.*

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* What Bishop Burnet says on this subject is so concise, and at the same time so strong, and to the purpose, that I think myself obliged to lay it before the reader for his farther information:

"The inquiry into the conduct at sea, particularly with relation to the Smyrna fleet, took up much time, and held long. Great exceptions were taken to the many delays, by which it seemed a

But, notwithstanding the admirals escaped, yet many things were laid open in the House of Commons, which reflected extremely on the management of the navy. It appeared, particularly, that the sum of 1,036,415*l.* was due for seaman's wages. This struck the house with astonishment, and accounted at the same time very fully for the backwardness of the sailors in entering into the public service. To provide a remedy for so great an evil, and to encourage the seamen for the future, the Commons voted 500,000*l.* towards the discharge of the debt, and 2,000,000*l.* for the service of the fleet, that his Majesty might be able to perform the promise he had made them of taking care that things should go on, next year, better at sea. His Majesty also made several changes in the ministry, which gave great satisfaction; for the late inquiries had made it evident, that the

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train was laid, that they should not get out of our ports, till the French were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of; the instructions, that the admirals who commanded the fleet had received from the cabinet-council, were thought ill given, and yet worse executed. Their orders seemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective: nor had they shewed any zeal in doing more than strictly to obey such orders; they had very cautiously kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle. They had used no diligence to get certain information concerning the French fleet, whether it was still in Brest, or had sailed out. But in that important matter they had trusted general and uncertain reports too easily. Nor had they sailed far enough with Rooke to see him past danger. To all this their answer was, that they had observed their orders: they had reason to think the French were still in Brest; that therefore it was not safe to sail too far from the coast of England, when they had, as they understood, ground to believe, that they had left behind them a great naval force, which might make an impression on our coast, when they were at too great a distance from it. The getting certain intelligence from Brest was represented as impracticable. They had many specious things to say in their own defence, and many friends to support them: for it was now the business of one party to accuse, and of another to justify their conduct. In conclusion, there was not ground sufficient to condemn the admirals, since they had followed their instructions; so a vote passed in their favour.

dependents on some great men were principally concerned in giving information to the French of all our motions, a conduct which, however coloured or clouded, was a most gross and glaring treason against their country, such as ought to have drawn upon them the severest punishments while living, and which deserves to be transmitted to posterity with a proper note of infamy, to prevent like practices in succeeding times.

Before we speak of the naval operations of the year 1694, it will be necessary to give some account of the sending Sir Francis Wheeler with his squadron into the Mediterranean, as that was a measure not only concerted, but executed in the preceding year, though its being altogether independent of other affairs made it not so proper to mention it before. The great blow that the English and Dutch commerce had received there by the intercepting the Smyrna fleet, and the danger there was in leaving the remains of that fleet any longer in Spanish harbours, engaged the board of admiralty to send their orders for Sir Francis Wheeler to proceed with a squadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with a Dutch vice-admiral and his squadron, to the Mediterranean, where he had instructions to use his utmost endeavour to procure the safe return of the Plate-fleet into Cadiz; then he was to leave a sufficient convoy for bringing home the ships in that port to England: he was next to convoy the Turkish ships as far as the channel of Malta; then, in conjunction with the Spanish fleet, he was to annoy the enemy's trade, till he judged his detached ships were about to return, and, after joining them in the appointed place of rendezvous, he was to bring back with him all the merchant ships ready to sail from any of the ports in the Straits, or from Cadiz.

On the 27th of November, in pursuance of these instructions, he sailed, and on the 4th of December sent the ships bound to Oporto thither under a convoy, as two days after he did those bound for Lisbon and St. Ubes; and, having by his vigilance prevented a design of the French to intercept part of the merchant ships under his convoy, he arrived on the 19th of January in the bay of Cadiz, having lost company in his passage with only one of a hundred and sixty-five ships which sailed with him from England. So happy was the beginning of an expedition, which proved afterwards so unfortunate!

On the admiral's arriving at Cadiz, he found the Spanish fleet in no condition to sail, but had the satisfaction of finding the flota safely arrived. On the 25th of January Rear-admiral Neville joined him with the ships he had ordered to cruize off Cape St. Vincent, together with the detached convoys which the French in vain had endeavoured to intercept. Sir Francis Wheeler, upon this, appointed a squadron of four English and as many Dutch men of war, with a fire-ship, under the command of Vice-admiral Hopson, to bring home the merchant ships that were ready, and on the 10th of February sailed with the rest of the squadron to execute the remaining part of his instructions. On the 17th of the same month, being off the bay of Gibraltar, and having been driven out of the Straits-mouth, he met with a storm, which increased till the 19th in the morning, when the admiral seeing the Gut, stood away for it, and made a proper signal to the rest of the fleet, and was followed by Vice-admiral Callemberg, who first saw his signal, and other ships. But they, having the bay of Gibraltar open, and in all probability mistaking it for the Straits-mouth, put in there, which occasioned their unhappy misfortune; for, it being a lee-shore, foul ground, and their sails flying into the air, they were forced to let go their anchors, of which many were lost, most of their cables spoiled, and several of their ships run on shore.*

* The particulars of this misfortune may be seen in the following list:

In the mean time the Sussex, on board which the admiral was, foundered at sea, and himself, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were lost, only two Turks escaping. The admiral's body was soon after found on a sand-bank, in his shirt and slippers: it was guessed from thence, that, seeing the ship about to sink, he intended to have thrown himself into the sea, and attempt to save himself by swimming. The whole squadron suffered extremely, and were obliged to remain, by contrary winds, a long time at Gibraltar, and at length in the beginning of May, sailed for Cadiz. In the mean time Vice-admiral Hopson, in pursuance of the orders before-mentioned, sailed with the homeward-bound ships, and arrived safely off the Lizard on the 5th of April, 1694.

We have before observed, that one of the first steps taken by King William after his return from Flanders, and his hearing of the unfortunate affair of the Smyrna fleet was, the appointing Edward Russel, Esq. admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet which should put to sea the next spring. As a farther testimony of his Majesty's confidence in that great man, he directed a new commission of admiralty, wherein Edward Russel, Esq. Sir John Lowther, Henry Priestman, Esq. Robert Austen, Esq. Sir Robert Rich, Sir George Rooke, and Sir John Hoblon,

	Men.
The Cambridge, a ship of 70 guns, run ashore about four in the morning, and lost	100
The Lumley Castle, lost	130
The Serpent bomb-vessel, foundered	15
The William, ketch, ran ashore	15
The Mary, ketch, foundered	16
The Great George, a Turkey ship, lost	90
The Aleppo Factor, lost	3
The Golden Frigate of Venice, lost	23
The Berkshire, a Turkey ship	15
The Indian Merchant, a Turkey ship	2
The William, for Leghorn, lost	1
	410

were included. The command of the fleet being thus provided for, the next thing was, to fix on such designs as were proper for retrieving the glory of the English arms, and blotting out the memory of the unfortunate accidents that had lately happened. In the first place it was resolved, that a formidable descent should be actually made on the French coast, in order to effect what had been long ago proposed, the erecting a fort on a certain promontory near Brest, which should command the haven, and entirely prevent the assembling, as the French were wont to do, their grand fleets there. It was also judged requisite to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, as well to succour the king of Spain, whose affairs were so much distressed by the French naval power, as to prevent the Toulon squadron from coming into the ocean, and hindering the French thereby from making any figure this year at sea. In order to accomplish these schemes, all imaginable pains were taken, and no expence spared, either in England or Holland, to fit out a more numerous fleet, and to send it earlier to sea, than in any year since the war began.

On the 1st of May, Admiral Russel took the command of the fleet at St. Helen's, which consisted of fifty-two English and forty-one Dutch ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels. On the third the admiral sailed with the grand fleet, leaving Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a strong squadron at Portsmouth, in order to embark the land forces. On the 9th, being fifteen leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, the admiral was informed by the captain of a Swedish ship, that there lay in Bertaume-bay a fleet of French merchantmen, bound to the eastward; upon which he immediately detached Captain Pritchard in the Monmouth, together with the Resolution and the Roebuck fire-ships, with orders either to take or destroy them. Accordingly, on the 10th, as soon as it was light, they made the French shore about seven miles from the fleet, and by five o'clock they saw several ships behind a point of land near Conquet-bay, which upon a signal given from one of their scouts, immediately put to sea. In the mean time Captain Pritchard pursued the man of war that was their convoy, and forced her to haul in with the shore, and run against the rocks under the outermost castle; and this man of war proved to be the Jersey frigate, which the enemy had taken from us in the West Indies, and which soon after blew up, with two sloops of between ten and sixteen guns. The merchant ships were in all about fifty-five sail, of which thirty-five were burnt or sunk, twenty-five in Whitsand-bay, four on the south side of the point of the bay, and six on the south side of Conquet, their lading being for the most part salt, wine, and brandy. Some few days after, two other ships took and destroyed seventeen French vessels laden with corn and other provisions.

The admiral returned back again to St. Helen's by that time he judged that Sir Cloudesley Shovel could have executed the orders he had left with him; and finding the land-forces completely embarked, and every thing ready, he sailed with the whole fleet on the 29th of May, having before given the necessary directions for the separating, at a proper station, the squadron that was intended for the Brest expedition, and which was to be commanded by the Lord Berkley. On the last day of the month, at nine in the morning, a council of war was held on board the Britannia, at which were present the following persons; *viz.* Edward Russel, Esq. admiral of the fleet, the Lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, vice-admiral of the red, Colonel Aylmer, vice-admiral of the blue, Colonel Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, the marquis of Caermarthen, rear-admiral of the blue, Captain Byng, eldest captain to the admiral, Lieutenant-general Talmash, the earl of Macclesfield, the Lord Cutts, Sir Martin Beckman, Admiral Allemonde admiral of the Dutch, Vice-admiral Vanderputtin, Vice-admiral Schey, Vice-admiral Vander-Goes, Rear-admiral Evertzen, and Captain Vander-Dussen, in which it was resolved, that the fleet designed for Brest should immediately proceed to Camaret-bay, and should land the forces on board under the direction of Lieutenant-general Talmash, and the necessary instructions were for this purpose given to Lord Berkley, and the officers that went to command under him.

On the 5th of June the Lord Berkley parted, with his squadron, from the grand fleet, having with him twenty-nine English and Dutch men of war of the line, besides small frigates, fire-ships, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb ketches. On the 6th a council of war was held, in which the proper measures were taken for landing the forces; and it was agreed, that Lord Cutts should command six hundred grenadiers, and Lieutenant-general Talmash advance in person at the head of the troops that were to support them. On the 7th the fleet came to an anchor between Camaret-bay and the bay of Bertaume, the French playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The marquis of Caermarthen demanded leave of Lord Berkley the admiral to go into Camaret-bay, in order to observe the situation of the forts, and the posture of the enemy. On his lordship's return, and making his report, the admiral ordered two sixty-gun ships to go in and cover the boats while they were landing: to which the marquis objecting that it was too small a force, a council of war was called on the 8th, in which it was resolved to send in three English and as many Dutch frigates, besides the two men of war before-mentioned.

One of these, however, the Richmond, deserted the post assigned her, and the marquis of Caermarthen carried in the other five, and posted them in their proper places, which, though a very necessary, was a most dangerous service, since, at their going in, a bomb broke over the Monk, a great piece of which struck through her poop, and two decks more, and came out again into the water near one of the stern-ports on the larboard-side, in the gun-room, killing three marines, and one of them by the side of the marquis. So soon as the Monk got into the bay, and came up with the western point, Camaret-fort fired upon her very warmly; and, when the rest of the ships were properly disposed, they were surprised to find themselves played upon from three batteries, not one of which was discerned till they felt the shot from it. These military compliments they returned with great spirit, and, by keeping up a brisk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected.

The reason of this, since I do not find it already set down in any of our historians, I think myself obliged to give, as I have had it from the mouths of many who were engaged in that warm service. The French had been so well informed of our design, and such strange delays had been made in embarking the forces, that, when our fleet came upon the coast, they found the French every where covered by impregnable entrenchments, and supported by a body of regular troops, more numerous than the forces intended for this descent. This was represented to Lieutenant-general Talmash in the council of war, and he was advised not to expose himself or his men: to which he answered; "This advice comes too late: the honour of the English nation is at stake, and, therefore, I must and will land. I know that I sacrifice myself and the men; but it is necessary, and must be done, that both our enemies and allies may know, that even desperate undertakings cannot daunt English courage."*

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* This project, as I have been informed, was first proposed by a land-officer to the earl of Nottingham some years before; and hints of it having been given to the French, they resolved to

He embarked on board the small vessels, with about eight hundred men, and landed as many of them as he could, but to very little purpose; for several of the well-boats sticking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded before they could get to the shore, and those that did land were very soon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Amongst the wounded was Lieutenant-general Talmash himself, who received a shot in his thigh, of which he soon after died.* The marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, whose courage no man ever called in question, tells us on this occasion, that, if the English force had been double to what it was, they would have found the attempt impracticable.

When the men on board the ships saw only a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over, they began to be out of heart, and the marquis had much ado to bring them out of the bay. The Monk had not either a yard or a sail, but was towed off; the rest of the vessels were also brought away with great difficulty, except a Dutch frigate called the Teesep, of thirty guns, which had twelve feet water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight; and, of half an English company that was accidentally left on board her, only an ensign, a drummer, and a private man, escaped; so that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in

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spare no cost nor pains, in order to prevent a scheme from taking effect, which they knew would have deprived them of the best port they have in this part of the world.

* Both the Marquis De Quincy and Father Daniel commend the bravery of some French officers, who, they say, attacked and routed the English troops that were landed, and this with so small a force, as one hundred and twenty men, supported, however, by a regiment of dragoons. The glory of this will be sufficiently diminished, when it is known, that not above three hundred did land, and that many of these were wounded in getting ashore, and were so much exposed to the enemy's artillery, that they never could be formed into any tolerable order.

the evening, it was resolved therein to return to Spithead. The loss upon this occasion was computed at seven hundred of the land-forces killed, wounded, and taken, and about four hundred killed and wounded on board the ships.*

The Marquis De Quincy, who is at once the most exact and most moderate of all the French writers, informs us, that, at the time this attempt was made, M. De Vauban had taken care to put the town of Brest into an excellent state of defence. It was surrounded with strong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with bastions and half-moons at proper distances. He had erected a new battery of sixteen pieces of cannon and six mortars on the bastion of the town, nearest the castle, between it and the grand battery, with several smaller batteries in other places. He had likewise taken care to render all the vaults in the castle bomb-proof, and had made the best disposition possible of ninety mortars, and three hundred pieces of large cannon. As for the vessels in the port, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and, with respect to men, he had fourteen hundred bombardiers, three thousand gentlemen who served as volunteers, and of regular troops four thousand foot, and a regiment of dragoons.

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* The marquis of Caermarthen in his account, does great justice to all the officers employed in this desperate service. He says, " My Lord Berkley, during all this expedition, has had a great deal of unusual trouble by reason of the embarkations of the soldiers; notwithstanding which, both by his advice at councils of war, and issuing of orders, which his lordship has done very methodically, he hath behaved himself, in my opinion, with all the conduct and prudence that could be expected from a gentleman in his station.

" Lieutenant-general Talmash, the earl of Macclesfield, my Lord Cutts, and all the officers of the land-forces, I think, have shewn all the forwardness and readiness imaginable for the attempting any thing that was possible to be done on this occasion. There are no officers of note that I can yet hear of, killed in this action but Monsieur Lamote; and Lieutenant-general Talmash died the Tuesday following, of the wound he received in his thigh. But there are several captains, &c. who are either killed or taken, of whose names I am as yet ignorant."

General Talmash's landing, therefore, with eight hundred men, might well be called a sacrifice, and yet more than half of these could never be got on shore; we must, therefore, admit, that when the marquis says four hundred were killed, five hundred and forty-eight soldiers and forty officers made prisoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father Daniel, however, and some other writers, carry it as far; and, indeed, most of them agree in computing our whole loss at two thousand. As to what they say of ships being sunk, and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornaments, which, from frequent use, are become necessary to a French detail, as their having but forty-five men killed in this action is another stroke of the marvellous, which every reader, perhaps, may not be in the humour to credit.

After this unlucky attempt, the poor wounded lieutenant-general proposed, that a small squadron of frigates and bomb-vessels might be sent into the harbour of Brest to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a rash, and, as things stood, an impracticable undertaking; and, therefore, Lord Berkley sailed immediately for our own coasts, and arrived on the 15th of June, 1694, at St. Helen's. There they found the queen's orders to call a council of war, to consider how the ships and troops might, after this fatal miscarriage, be best employed. After several consultations, it was resolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make some attempts on the coast of Normandy. Advice of this being sent to court, and an answer being returned on the 27th of June, it was resolved, in another council of war, first to bombard the town of Dieppe, and then to proceed along the French coast, and do every where what prejudice they could. In pursuance of this resolution, they came before that place, but were forced to sea by a storm, and afterwards anchored off Dungeness, from whence they sailed on the 5th of July, and arrived once more in Dieppe road on the 8th. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by exceedingly foul weather for several days together.

On the twelfth they began about nine in the morning to play upon the town of Dieppe, and continued without ceasing till about nine at night. About eleven they sent in one of their machines which the French call infernals, with an intent to burn the pier; but several vessels full of stones, being very providently sunk before it, rendered that ineffectual; so that, except astonishing the town by the mighty noise, it did little mischief.

Captain Dunbar, a Scots gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour by his intrepidity on this occasion; for the train not taking effect as was expected, he went on board again, and, finding the fuzee out, set fire to it a second time, for which he, and those who went with him, were deservedly rewarded. They continued the bombardment afterwards till day-light, and the streets being narrow, the houses old, and most of them built of timber, the town was on fire in twenty places at once; so that the far greater part of it was consumed to ashes.* The French court did all they could to stifle the report of this, at least at Paris; but the place was too near for any such artifices to take effect; so that, by endeavouring to lessen, they really increased the people's apprehensions, and all the inhabitants of the sea-coasts would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been sent to restrain them.

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* In the dates, I generally follow the French writers, reducing the new style to the old, because they are usually more exact than our own. Father Daniel owns the total destruction of Dieppe, but says it was immediately built up again at the expence of the French king. If so, the inhabitants must be daily put in mind of the English maritime power, by this very improvement of their town.

After the bombardment of Dieppe, the English squadron sailed along the coast, and obliged the French to march their forces night and day, in order to prevent the debarking any troops; which, however, was a thing the English admiral never intended. On the 15th of July, 1694, about noon, Lord Berkley arrived at Havre de Grace, and, about four o'clock, he began to bombard it. On the 16th, 17th, and 18th, the French poured troops and militia into the place, in order to assist the inhabitants to put out the fires lighted from time to time by the bombs; and as the wind continued blowing all that time directly from the shore, the English were not able to do much, though they remained still before the place, which threw all the adjacent country into a terrible consternation. On the 21st, the wind being favourable, the small craft and bomb-vessels were sent in, and continued bombarding the place the whole night, by which, a third part of the town was burnt down, a great part of the wall demolished, and, which was worst of all, abundance of poor people killed.* All this, however, could not be performed without loss;

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* The Marquis De Quincy asserts positively, that there were not above twenty houses burnt in the town; but then he admits, that not only the inhabitants, but a vast number of soldiers, who were sent thither on purpose, laboured excessively in putting out the fires wherever the bombs fell; which must have been attended with great loss of men and other inconveniences. But I must confess, I see no just cause why a medal should have been struck on the bombarding this place, rather than that of Dieppe. Yet such a one there was; having on one side the king's head in profile, with these words, *Gulielmus magnus invictissimus;* on the reverse was, Perillus's bull, with this inscription, *Suis perit ignibus auctor*, alluding to the French king's having begun this barbarous kind of war, by burning the Palatinate, and bombarding Genoa. In the exergue, *Portus Gratiæ, exustus & eversus bombardis Anglo Batavis*, 1694. I. B. F. Gerard Van Loon Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, tom. iv. p. 165.

many of the mortars melted, the Grenado bomb-ship was blown up, and the rest of the small craft so shattered, that it was thought convenient to retire. But, even in doing this, care was taken to give the French infinite disquiet; for, appearing before La Hogue, their forces were drawn that way: but our squadron was in no condition to undertake any thing, and, therefore, after alarming the enemy as much as possible, Lord Berkley returned to St. Helen's on the 26th of July, 1694, in order to refit.

The court was very desirous that something should be undertaken against Dunkirk, and to that purpose several expresses were dispatched to the fleet; but, upon a nice examination of the different proposals made by the engineers and pilots, they were all of opinion that the season was too far advanced, and that nothing could be undertaken this year with any probability of success. A plan was then sent of Calais, which came from the king in Flanders; but the scheme of bombarding that place was also judged impracticable by a council of war, which resolution was chiefly owing to the diffidence of the pilots. On the 27th of August, Lord Berkley returned to London, and the command of the fleet, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved on Sir Cloudesley Shovel, whose instructions were expressed to undertake something against Dunkirk at all events.

Mr. Meesters, who was the inventor and director of the machines called infernals, was at this time in Flanders, endeavouring to collect pilots able to carry the squadron into the harbour of Dunkirk, or at least, so far into the road as might enable them to destroy the enemy's ships. Sir Cloudesley sailed to the Downs in the beginning of September, and, on the 7th, was joined by Mr. Meesters, with twenty-six Dutch pilots, when Captain Benbow was appointed to command the small ships, and to follow the instructions of Mr. Meesters, whose pilots did not perform what was expected from them.* On the 12th, however, Sir Cloudesley Shovel appeared before the town of Dunkirk, with thirteen English and six Dutch men of war, two bomb-vessels, seventeen machines, and other small craft. In the evening, Captain Benbow went in, and sounded the western channel, between the Brake and the Main, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the ships and the citadel. The next day all the boats and small vessels were sent in again, with the Charles galley, and two bomb-vessels.

In the afternoon two of the machines were sent in. The first took fire before she was near enough to do any execution: whether it was that the cannon of the place set fire to it, as some of the French writers say, or that those on board, finding it impossible either to bring it nearer or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggest, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide set her on one side, so that she drove a cable's length, and then blew up. It was found, that the French had, according to custom, early intelligence of this design, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and sinking ships on the back of the westernmost pier, had secured themselves against all attempts of this nature: Sir Cloudesley Shovel being informed of this, and knowing that the spring-tides were over, sailed away for Calais, and on the 17th, sent the bomb-vessels in, and threw so many shells into the town, that about forty houses were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great swell of sea happening, the admiral was forced to bear away, and the storm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to stay any longer, but returned with his whole squadron into the Downs, from whence the bomb-vessels and machines were sent into the river Thames.

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* This ignorance, cowardice, or wilfulness of the pilots, seems to have been the chief cause of this miscarriage; and whoever considers attentively what has been written upon this subject, by such as are best acquainted with maritime affairs, will be of my opinion, that seamen, above all others, are least inclined to expeditions of this sort. And, as such expeditions can only be executed by seamen, it may well be supposed that this is the great reason why they so seldom succeed.

It was the opinion of a very intelligent person, who had, without question, good grounds for what he delivered, that the expence to which the nation was put by these bombardments, was more than equivalent to what the enemy suffered by them. It is certain, that all the sea-faring part of the world disapproved this manner of pursuing the war at that time; and that all the writers who have touched upon this subject, have been carried away by the stream of their authority; which, however, has not the same effect on me. In the first place, I think the manner in which the French had conducted the war in Germany, their bombarding the city of Genoa, but, above all, their piratically lying in wait for, and plundering our Smyrna fleet, and their pursuing and bombarding the remains of it in the ports of Spain, fully justified this manner of proceeding. The *lex talionis* certainly subsists between nations, and, as the French set such an example at their expence, the allies could not be reasonably blamed for writing after their copy. In these cases, those who set the precedent, are to bear the blame as well as the loss, that suffering and shame may teach them moderation for the future.

I must, secondly, observe, that if we consider the expence the king of France must have been at in providing for the security of Brest, and the inconveniencies that must have attended the sending M. Vauban that way, with a corps of no less than 12,000 regular troops, the Marquis De Beauvron with a great detachment to Dieppe, Marshal De Choiseul to Havre de Grace, the duke of Maine, Count Toulouse, and Marshal Villeroy, with the greatest part of the army in Flanders, to Dunkirk: I say, take all these together, and it will appear the French suffered abundantly more than we.

But then, thirdly, this measure was absolutely necessary; the French now styled themselves LORDS OF BOTH SEAS, that is, the ocean and the Mediterranean: their gazettes were full of the triumphs of their maritime force, and, therefore, the bombarding their ports was an effectual method to convince all Europe of the emptiness of their bravadoes. It exalted the maritime power of the English nation, raised the drooping spirits of the people, gave satisfaction to the merchants whose vessels had been plundered by the French privateers, and was, therefore, a great and glorious measure, whatever has been said against it by those who shew respect and compassion for a people who never shew us any marks of either, except when civility is the pure result of fear, or the consequence of deep distress.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the Mediterranean, whither Admiral Russel sailed with the grand fleet, as we have remarked, on the 6th of June, 1694. He arrived on the 25th, off the rock of Lisbon, and thence sent orders to Rear-admiral Neville, who, as we before observed, commanded the squadron, which protected the English merchant-ships at Cadiz, to join him, which he did, with the Dutch Vice-admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with sixteen ships of the line, which increased the number of those in the fleet to sixty-three. The admiral then resolved to steer immediately for Barcelona, in order to save that city, and the province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the French, who, at that time, had a numerous army, and a great naval force under the command of M. Tourville before, or at least very near the place.*

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* The Marquis De Quincy tells us, that Admiral Russel came into the Mediterranean very luckily for the preservation of Barcelona, before which port he appeared on the last of July, with

This shews the wisdom of the administration in sending so great a fleet into those seas; for without such assistance, the Spaniards must have been undone, or, which was the view of that armament, forced to make a separate peace, and the French would have continued boasting and vapouring, as they had lately done, of their mighty maritime power, persuading Algiers, and the rest of the States of Barbary, that the English were not able to look them in the face. But an end was now effectually put to those bravadoes, by the admiral's procuring leave from the Dutch and Spaniards, who were at war with those States, that some Algerine men of war might have permission to come and take a view of the fleet: which they did accordingly, and went home again very well satisfied. On the other hand, the French admiral had no sooner intelligence of the approach of our fleet, than he retired precipitately from before Barcelona, and soon after shut himself up in the port of Toulon, which put it entirely out of dispute, that the maritime powers were now able to give law to France in all parts of the world. The siege of Barcelona too was raised, to the infinite joy of the king of Spain, who testified his gratitude for this signal assistance, in the warmest and most public manner possible.

Our admiral, indeed, found the Spanish affairs in the most distressed condition imaginable. Their armada consisted but of ten ships, and of these four only were of the line of battle; the rest of small force, and so rotten, that they could scarcely endure the firing of their own guns. Their army in Catalonia was in a still worse condition: it consisted but of 9000 men, without clothes, without pay, without provisions, without artillery, and even without tents. The

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a fleet of 136 sail, of which 88 were of the line of battle; and M. Tourville not being in a condition to look such a fleet in the face, retired, pursuant to his orders, into the harbour of Toulon. Hist. Militaire, tom. iii.

towns on the sea-coast were so meanly fortified, that, on the approach of a French squadron, the people had no other way to secure themselves but by flight. Admiral Russel stated all this in a letter to the king, and, at the same time, offered the viceroy of Catalonia to do all that was in his power for his assistance: which, however, was not much, for, on the other hand, the demands made by the viceroy were excessively unreasonable, and what the admiral was able to do could not much benefit him; which was the reason that, together with an apprehension of provisions growing short, induced the admiral to desire the fleet might return home; for which, when he had made all the necessary preparations, and was on the very point of quitting the Spanish coast, he received an order under his Majesty's signet and sign manual, directing him to winter at Cadiz. This embarrassed him extremely, and the rather, because no care was taken to send commissioners for victualling; so that this fell entirely upon the admiral, and was no small addition to the load of cares with which he was already oppressed.

Yet, considering the importance of the service, the dangers to which the men would be exposed by any mismanagement in this affair, and how far the honour of the English nation was at stake, he applied himself to this new employment with such diligence, that never men were better furnished with provisions and wine; and this too was managed with so great economy, that notwithstanding the apparent difference between obtaining provisions for a great fleet and single ships, yet the former was victualled at as small an expence to the public as the latter, and in many circumstances at a much cheaper rate; nor did the admiral, when he found it necessary, make any scruple of engaging his personal credit and private estate, for the service of his country.*

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* See the subsequent Memoirs of the earl of Orford, where it will appear, that, notwithstanding all his pains and application, he

While the fleet continued before Alicant, the admiral dispatched a squadron of ten sail, under the command of Rear-admiral Neville, with orders to cruise between the islands and the Barbary coast, as well to intercept any French vessels that might pass that way, as to procure wood and other necessaries for the fleet. Soon after this, the admiral falling ill of a fever and bloody flux, he devolved the care of the fleet on Vice-admiral Aylmer, with orders to join Rear-admiral Neville, and in case he had any news of the French fleet's being come out of Toulon to sail in quest of them without delay; but if not, to return to Alicant, which he did on the 10th of September. The admiral, though in a very weak state of health, went very soon on board, and resumed the command of the fleet, with which he proceeded to Cadiz, where he arrived on the eighth of November, 1694, and took all the necessary precautions to prevent the French from passing the Straits without receiving proper notice of their motions.

While he continued there, the Spaniards sent him frequent advices of the French fleet's being ready to quit Toulon; which, however, he did not much regard, as having better intelligence of his own. It is true, the French fleet was kept clean and well rigged during the winter, with the design to have brought it round to Brest; but the advices they had of Admiral Russel's force, and their knowledge of his diligence, had such an effect on the mind of M. Tourville, that he could not be prevailed on to risk the ships under his command in so dangerous a passage. His Catholic Majesty was all this time soliciting our admiral to undertake impossibilities, such as trans-

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was most cruelly and scandalously traduced on this account, as if he had procured the wintering of the fleet in the Mediterranean, purely to enrich himself by the management of their victualling; whereas, that measure was not only concerted without, but against his advice, and the government saved a great sum of money by his frugal conduct in the other particular.

porting five, then seven thousand men, from Genoa, on board his men of war, though he knew them to be foul by their being so long at sea, and but indifferently provided with victuals; which, though the admiral refused, yet he did it with great decency, and at the same time offered unanswerable reasons in support of his own conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand, amongst other supplies, a reasonable number of land-forces: and in this manner the remainder of the year was spun out.

It is now requisite to take notice of what was done at home, in relation to naval affairs; and, in the first place, I must observe, that the king, on his return from Flanders, under the escort of a small squadron, commanded by the marquis of Caermarthen, called the parliament together on the twelfth of November, and opened the sessions with a speech, which began thus: "I am glad to meet you here, when I can say our affairs are in a better posture, both by sea and land, than when we parted last. The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose our fleet in these seas: and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean has disappointed their designs, and leaves us a prospect of further success." He recommended to them, at the same time, early and effectual supplies, and the passing some good law for the encouragement of seamen. The commons received these propositions very cheerfully, and having examined the estimates that were laid before them for the next year, voted a supply of 2,382,712*l.* for the navy, which sufficiently shewed how easy it was to engage the nation to give money, when they had any tolerable prospect of seeing it well laid out.

The death of Queen Mary, which happened towards the latter end of the year, served not only to damp the spirits of the people, who had a wonderful affection for the person of that princess, but to give the enemies of the government an opportunity to attempt distressing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally dissolved by her Majesty's demise.* This, however strange and singular, was the sentiment of her Majesty's uncle, the earl of Rochester, and of some others; but certainly it was very ill-founded. The executive part of the government was by law, in King William only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared to be in their Majesties jointly. The calling of a parliament, was certainly an act of the executive power, and consequently it ought to have been understood in law as the special and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their Majesties, as all other acts of state did, yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and nobody's seconding the earl of Rochester in his motion in the House of Lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberations as if no such accident had happened.†

It was then suggested, by such as disliked the administration, that the sending Admiral Russel with so great a fleet into the Mediterranean, keeping him there for so long a time, and directing him at last to winter in those parts, was contrary to the interest of the nation, an occasion of vast sums being remitted into foreign parts, and an act of too great complaisance towards our allies. But, upon a long and sharp debate, the House of Lords saw reason to justify this measure, by a very warm address to the throne, in which they say, "That the sending so great a fleet into the Mediterranean, and continuing it in those parts, has been to the honour and advantage of your Majesty and your kingdoms: and having spent some time upon consideration of the condition of the fleet both at home and abroad, and of the great increase of the naval force and strength of our neighbours, conceive it to be our duty to your Majesty and the kingdom, humbly to represent, that the honour and safety of this nation, under the providence of God, chiefly depend upon your strength at sea. And whereas, by the long continuance of this war, the number of your ships must have been diminished, and those remaining greatly impaired, we think it of the highest importance to your Majesty's service, and the security and interest of your people, that you would be pleased to give such speedy and effectual directions for the repair and increase of your royal navy, as may enable your Majesty not only to continue a strength in the Mediterranean during this war, which may be superior to that of our enemies, but likewise to maintain such a force here at home, and in the West Indies, as shall be a security for our coasts and plantations, and a protection of our trade, and sufficient both for the annoying of our enemies, and for the protecting and convoying all such stores and provisions as must be sent to the fleet in those parts, upon the effectual and timely providing whereof the safety of that part of your Majesty's navy does so much depend." This address, which was presented in the beginning of the month of March, and to which the king returned a favourable answer, satisfied the minds of all the sensible part of the nation on this head, and reconciled them to the absence of Admiral Russel, which otherwise they would not have borne but with great impatience.*

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* This excellent princess was taken ill at Kensington, on the twenty-first of December, 1694. Her distemper proved to be the small-pox; a malady extremely fatal to her family, and which might, therefore, be supposed to make the greater impression upon her spirits: this, joined to a bad constitution, and, as some say, the ill management of her principal physician, brought her to her end in the space of a week. She was, at the time of her decease, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented at home and abroad; and her death, at this juncture, was a great disadvantage to her subjects.

† See Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ii. It is evident, if this could have been carried, and the parliament dissolved, things must have run into the utmost confusion; and, therefore, it is amazing that any man, who pretended the least regard for his country, should espouse so destructive a scheme, even though his sentiments had been opposite to those of the persons entrusted with the administration. But the misfortune in those days was, that private interest, covered with pretences to party, boldly undertook whatever avarice or ambition dictated, and often injured the public by what they imposed on the credulous for public spirit.

A considerable supply being sent to the fleet in the beginning of the year, Admiral Russel resolved to send a small squadron up the Straits; it was composed of six stout frigates, and the command given to Captain James Killegrew, who had instructions to protect our own trade, and to annoy that of the enemy. In their cruize, on the 18th of January, 1695, they discovered two French ships, *viz.* the Content, commanded by the Marquis Du Chalard, of seventy guns, and the Trident, under Count D'Aulnoy, of sixty guns, between Cape Bona and the island of Pantalarea, on the Barbary coast. The French men of war mistook the English for merchantmen, and bore down upon them, but, quickly perceiving their mistake, endeavoured to get away. It was four in the afternoon before Captain Killegrew, in the Plymouth, could come up with them; and, the wind being then calm, she alone engaged both the French ships for the space of more than an hour, in which time Captain Killegrew was killed with a cannon-shot. Then came up the Falmouth, Captain Grantham, who engaged them for nearly another hour, till the other four English frigates came in: whereupon the French separated, the Carlisle, Newcastle, and Southampton, pursued the biggest of them, and the Falmouth and Adventure the lesser, the Plymouth being forced to bear away for Messina, having lost her fore-top-mast, and her other masts and rigging being very much shattered. The French made a running fight the night following and part of the next day, when, their ships being disabled, and the Count D'Aulnoy, one of their commanders, with many of their men killed, they both yielded. One of them, called the Trident, being leaky, and it blowing very fresh, the English sent her to Girgenti, and carried the Content to Messina, where they arrived the 2d of March. The Plymouth had fourteen men killed, and thirty wounded, and there might be about twice that number killed and wounded on board the rest of the ships. The brave Captain Killegrew was interred at Messina with all the honours due to his rank and merit.* The news of this action reached home much about the time that the lords presented their address, which was a very fortunate circumstance for the friends of the court, who mentioned it on all occasions, as a fact which fully supported their arguments. On the other side, a large account of this affair was printed at Paris, in which the Marquis Du Chalard said a great many fine things of himself and his nation, but after all admits they were beaten.†

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* The French took a great deal of pains to publish whatever was said in England against this measure; and indeed they had good reason, since all those arguments were in their favour. The English fleet giving law to them in the Mediterranean, while our squadrons bombarded their ports on the ocean, sunk their pretensions to maritime power so low, that it is no wonder they were desirous of promoting the views of that party in England, which opposed measures so fatal to their glory.

On the 5th of February, 1694, a great supply of provisions arrived from England, and soon after Admiral Russel detached Rear-admiral Neville, with a strong squadron, to watch the motions of the French. In the beginning of April arrived the land-forces, consisting of about four thousand five hundred men, under the command of Brigadier Stuart and other experienced officers, and with them came a large fleet of victuallers, and twelve bomb-vessels.* The fleet then sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded to Barcelona, before which port they arrived early in the month of May, and found the Spanish affairs in Catalonia in the same declining way in which they left them, notwithstanding all the pressing remonstrances which had from time to time been made by our Admiral to the Spanish court on that subject.

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* I think myself obliged to report from the mouth of an eye-witness, a very extraordinary circumstance in relation to this engagement. When Captain Killegrew came up with the Content, the whole French crew were at prayers, and he might have poured in his broadside with great advantage; which, however, he refused to do, adding this remarkable expression, "It is beneath the courage of the English nation to surprise their enemies in such a posture."

† I shall not trouble the reader with any of the flourishes in this or other French accounts of this affair, but content myself with observing, that the Marquis Du Chalard says, the Content carried 54 guns, and 380 men, the Trident 42 guns, and 300 men, though in several of their own lines of battle, in the years 1692 and 1693, I find the former to be a ship of 64, and the latter of 60 guns; which is sufficient to shew the credit due to these authors.

In the mean time Rear-admiral Neville was sent to escort a body of Spanish troops, which were to be transported from Final into that province. He had also directions to apply himself to the duke of Savoy, in order to be informed, whether, with the assistance of the fleet, he could undertake to invade any part of the dominions of France, or to assist in a design that was then formed against Toulon. But his highness, being intent upon taking Casal, declined entering upon any measures of this nature; and therefore Rear-admiral Neville was forced to content himself with the execution of the other part of his instructions, and rejoin the grand fleet with the Spanish troops under his protection, which he very happily performed.*

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* Burchet's Memoirs. The Spaniards were all this while soliciting for a convoy, and sometimes expressed a good deal of uneasiness on account of its not being provided. Yet this was entirely their own fault; for, while the admiral thought there was no danger of the French coming out of Toulon, he had pressed them as much to forward their embarkation at Final, telling them plainly, that after a certain time, which he fixed, he should not think it safe to spare them a convoy. But they suffered it to elapse, and then grew impatient, because Admiral Russel would not hazard part of his fleet, and all their forces, by sending the convoy at a time when the French fleet might have been at sea on purpose to intercept them.

It was about the middle of the month of July, when the Marquis De Gastanaga, the Spanish governor of Catalonia, formed the design of retaking Palamos, in which he desired the assistance of Admiral Russel. To this purpose he made him a visit on board the fleet, where the admiral told him the situation things were in, the necessity he was under of sending home Sir John Munden with some of the largest ships, and the impossibility there was of suffering the troops to continue for above a week or a few days longer on shore. However, in spite of all these difficulties and disappointments, he assured the marquis, that he was ready to do the very utmost in his power, both by landing the troops, and by sending in a squadron of light vessels to bombard the place. In consequence of these resolutions, the confederate forces, consisting of four thousand English and Dutch, were landed; the former under the command of Brigadier Stuart, The latter under that of Count Nassau.

This was on the 9th of August, and it was the next day before they joined the Spanish army, the very sight of which was sufficient to discourage them. To enumerate their wants, would be tedious and unnecessary, since in truth they were in want of every thing; and, if our people had not by accident brought with them some pick-axes and shovels on shore, they could not have intrenched themselves; which, however, was very necessary, since the French had not only a good garrison in Palamos, but an army at least equal to that of the Spaniards, within sight of the place. The bombardment, however, succeeded better; the greatest part of the town and castle were destroyed: but the admiral, being informed that the French fleet were coming out of Toulon, thought proper to re-embark his forces, and to sail for the coast of Provence, in order to watch the motions of the enemy.*

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* This was one great end of sending Admiral Russel into the Mediterranean: for if, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, he could have undertaken any thing against Marseilles or Toulon, it would have completed the ruin of the French power at sea. But the duke was so bent upon the conquest of Casal, that he could not be drawn to undertake any other enterprise. Admiral Russel, as soon as he understood this, resolved to give him all the assistance possible in that design, and, by hindering the French from sending any succours, enabled him to make himself master of the place, which he could not otherwise have taken.

After his departure from the coast of Catalonia, the admiral met with exceedingly bad weather, which hindered him from accomplishing some things which he had in view. He found also, that his intelligence as to the designs of the French had not been very exact, and therefore thought it advisable to retire down the Straits; which he did, and arrived, towards the latter end of the month of September, in the bay of Cadiz. There he made the necessary dispositions for securing our trade in the Mediterranean from any interruption, by leaving a sufficient force to frustrate the designs of the enemy, and even to assist the Spaniards, in case they shewed any greater care of their own concerns after his departure than they had hitherto done: and, having taken these precautions, and given proper instructions to Sir David Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, who was to be left with a squadron of three and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-vessels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the rest of the fleet back to England, most of the great ships being very foul, and many of them but indifferently manned. This design he very happily accomplished, arriving in November with twelve sail of great ships, exclusive of the Dutch, a frigate or two, and some fire-ships, on our own coast.

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* The French writers give us another account of this matter; they say, that the duke of Vendome, who commanded their army in Catalonia, finding himself too weak to attempt raising the siege of Palamos by force, had yet address enough to effect it by a stratagem. He sent a letter by the master of a fishing-bark, directed to Mr. Nanclas, governor of that place. acquainting him, that he might depend on speedy relief, the fleet having sailed from Toulon in the beginning of September. The master of the fishing-boat had orders to put himself in the way of the English, which he did; and the admiral, being deceived by this letter, sailed immediately for the coast of Provence. Hist. Militaire, tome iii. yet, supposing this fact to be true, the French had no great cause to boast; for Palamos was reduced to so miserable a condition by being bombarded, that the Duke de Vendome thought fit soon after to withdraw his garrison, and blow up the rest of the fortifications.

We are now to consider what passed at home, and how those measures were prosecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the French in the ocean. Our attempts the year before had not indeed answered the sanguine expectations of ignorant people, who imagined that they were not to have left a house standing on all the French coast, and on the other hand seemed but to justify too well what such as were best skilled in maritime affairs had advanced, as to the impossibility of performing any great services in the way of bombarding; yet it was resolved that this should be pursued. The great men in the cabinet, among whom was the famous earl of Sunderland, perhaps the ablest minister of his time, thought themselves better judges of these matters than either the seamen or the people, and while they were able to shew their own force for the present, lessen the French power for the future, and give infinite uneasiness to the whole French nation by such expeditions, the expence of them, though considerable, was, in their judgments, very far from being thrown away.

They were, besides, very sensible, that nothing could enable us and our allies to continue the war with any prospect of success, but our making such uses of our fleet as might lessen the visible superiority of the enemy's forces by land. This had been effectually done by Admiral Russel while he continued in the Mediterranean; for though he found it impossible to enable the Spaniards to do any thing, who had little or rather no force at all, yet he had visibly prevented the loss of Barcelona, and indeed of all Catalonia, which nothing but his presence could have kept, either this year or the last, out of the hands of the French; and the bombardments of last year had frustrated all the French schemes, and kept their whole naval force useless in their ports, which had been otherwise employed to our prejudice.*

The fleet intended for this service was in such forwardness by the middle of June, that the Lord Berkley of Stratton, who was to command it, had orders to repair on board. On his arrival at Spithead, a council of war was called, in order to consider what should be first undertaken; and, upon mature deliberation, it was resolved, that there was the greatest probability of succeeding against St. Maloe's. But the Dutch Admiral Allemonde having acquainted Lord Berkley, that he had the king's absolute orders to consider the project for attacking Dunkirk before all others, this occasioned a fresh delay. However, when it was proposed that the Dutch should act separately in this last undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full resolution taken to execute immediately the design against St. Maloe's.

With this view the fleet sailed on the twenty-third of June; and on the fourth of July Lord Berkley, with all the ships under his command, came before the place, and began instantly to bombard Quincefort to the westward, and the battery, raised by the enemy to the eastward, on point Danbour, between which is the channel of the town. The first service was performed by Colonel Richards, who had three English and two Dutch bomb-vessels under his command, and the latter was committed entirely to the Dutch, who employed therein four bomb-vessels for many hours. On the fifth, every thing being ready to attack the town, Lord Berkley, about four in the morning, gave the signal. Upon this Captain Benbow went on board the Charles galley, and hoisted a flame-coloured flag, and immediately after, the English and Dutch frigates, appointed to guard the bomb-vessels, entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and a half of the town, having Colonel Richards, with the bomb-vessels, in a line before them. About six the bombardment began. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the shore, from the batteries on the great and little bay in the island of Danbour, from Fort-Vauban, Fort-Royal, Fort-Quince, &c. their gallies and boats taking also the opportunities of the tides, and rowing sometimes so near as to gall with their small shot the line of bomb-vessels. Yet, in spite of this interruption, the bombardment was so vigorously pursued, that about eight o'clock a great fire broke out in the east part of the town, and vast clouds of smoke were seen ascending in several places. Lord Berkley, Admiral Allemonde, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, came in their boats to encourage the seamen, and expressed much satisfaction as to the manner in which the attack was disposed.

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* This is the judgment of some of the best political writers of those times: and, indeed, if we consider facts, we cannot but be convinced, that it was better for us to alarm and burn the French coast, than to suffer them to alarm and burn ours, as they did some years before.

An English and Dutch fire-ship set the wooden fort on the Quince rock on fire, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the west part of the town. By seven in the evening the bomb-vessels had spent their whole cargo of nine thousand bombs and carcasses, and therefore the signal was made to put to sea. This enterprise was executed by six English and four

Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottom boats, and two brigantines. The loss sustained by the enemy's fire was sixty men killed and wounded, a bomb-vessel called the Terrible, so shattered, that they were forced to set her on fire, two boats, and three or four barks sunk. The bombardment lasted somewhat more than eleven hours, with all the success that could possibly be expected, a great part of the place being burnt, and the enemy reduced to the necessity of blowing up several houses, to prevent the whole from being destroyed.

The French accounts do indeed contradict these; but, at the same time, they are such as cannot either raise the reputation of France, with impartial judges, or discredit what has been advanced on this subject by the English and Dutch. M. Quincy tells us, that the court appointed Marshal Choiseul to command on the coast of Britany. At La Hogue he had two battalions of marines, three of militia, a regiment of horse, and a regiment of dragoons; and, besides these, he had a numerous corps-de-reserve. M. D'Estrees commanded in the neighbourhood of Rochelle another considerable body of forces. The care of Brest, and the adjacent country, was committed to M. Vaubon, who had a special commission to enable him to command the marines, of which there were twenty-two battalions on the coast. All this shews how apprehensive the French were of these visits, into what confusion they put them, and what mighty expences they were obliged to be at, in order to provide against their effects.

As to this particular affair of St. Maloe's, the author beforementioned is pleased to say, our fleet consisted of seventy sail, of which twenty-five or thirty were line of battle ships. He owns, that the bombardment continued eleven hours; that nine hundred bombs were thrown, of which five hundred fell in the town, whereby ten or twelve houses were burnt, thirty-five or forty damaged, and eighteen or twenty people killed or wounded.* Father Daniel gives us pretty nearly the same account; and both agree, that two infernal machines were spent on Fort-Quince, one to very little and the other to no purpose. Yet, when it is remembered that St. Maloe's was an old town, its buildings mostly of wood, the streets very narrow, and the place crowded with soldiers, it is not easy to guess how so many bombs could possibly fall, and yet do so little hurt; and this induced a Dutch journalist to say, merrily enough, that the Maloins had taught their dogs (which every body knows they make use of to guard their city) to take up the bombs in their mouths, and run away with them out of town.

After this affair was over, it was resolved, that a small squadron should proceed to Granville, a place of some trade. This squadron consisted of eight frigates, and as many bomb-vessels; *viz.* five English and three Dutch. On the 8th of July, about nine in the morning, Captain Benbow anchored before the place, and Colonel Richards, about an hour afterwards, began the bombardment, which lasted till six in the evening, and then the squadron bore away, leaving this town all in flames, which is a fact the French have never offered to dispute, though most of their writers slip it over without saying a word. On the ninth the fleet appeared before Havre de Grace; not with any design to attack it, but merely to alarm and harass the enemy; which having performed, they sailed for Portsmouth, in order to make the necessary preparations there for an attempt upon Dunkirk, the destruction of which port would have given equal satisfaction to the English and Dutch, both nations suffering very much, though not equally, by her privateers, which were the very bane of all our northern and coast trade.

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* Histoire Militaire, tom. iii. But all that is said there may be thus accounted for. The French court always kept in pay a settled journalist, who was instructed to heighten all their successes, and to extenuate all their losses, by feigned relations; which relations are since reckoned proper documents for history: though at the time they were published their true value was very well known, and justly despised, not abroad only, but even by sensible people in France.

On the return of the fleet, four hundred soldiers were immediately embarked, and Mr. Meesters received orders to prepare his machines, on the success of which the whole affair depended. After this, all the proper measures were concerted with that engineer. But, whether through some backwardness in him, or from what other accident it is not very clear, so it was, that the month of July expired before the attempt upon Dunkirk was made. On the first of August Lord Berkley sent in the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and machine vessels, with several light frigates and brigantines, to protect them against the enemy's half-gallies, and other armed boats, of which they had a great many. About nine in the morning the bombardment began; about two in the afternoon four smoke ships were sent in, which were burnt to little or no purpose. The bomb-vessels, however, continued firing till about five, and then with the frigates, &c. were ordered off. Several of the shells fell into the rise-bank and upon the pier-heads, and three of the enemy's half-gallies were sunk.

But they had, it must be allowed, in all places made such great preparations for their defence, with boats, booms, chains, piles, and pontoons, with guns upon them, as rendered this attempt altogether impracticable. The French give a very long and pompous account of this affair, upon which they struck a medal, and I think, do the English more honour than any of their own relations; for they make the miscarriage of this attempt the effect of the courage and conduct of several of their most-experienced sea-officers;

whereas our authors universally ascribe it either to the want of skill in Mr. Meesters, or to the misunderstanding between him and some of the sea-officers; which is the more probable, since he deserted the service in the night, and could not be prevailed on to take any share at all in the subsequent attempt upon Calais.

Lord Berkley, notwithstanding this disappointment, resolved to prosecute his orders, and coming before Calais, called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour first of all to burn a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-heads, which was furnished with fourteen heavy cannon; and, with several other batteries, defended the entrance of the place in such a manner, that it was absolutely impossible any thing could be undertaken till these obstacles were removed. To this end, Colonel Richards was ordered to fill two well-boats with the materials of a fire-ship, and to dispose the boats for making a formal attack. Several accidents prevented the execution of this design till the seventeenth of August in the morning; when, anchoring eastward of the town, the bombardment began with such success, that by noon the place was on fire in several parts. About this time the enemy's half-gallies came out, and stood along under the shore, in order to break the line of bomb-vessels; but the frigates and brigantines standing in, put them into such confusion, that they retired with great precipitation, and with much difficulty recovered the pier-heads. The bombardment was then continued, without any farther interruption, till about five in the afternoon, by which time six hundred shells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the rise-bank were intirely burnt, several houses destroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular circumstance in our favour, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we suffered very little loss; Captain Osborne who commanded the Aldborough ketch, was, however, unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball.

M. Quincy affects to treat this attack as a very slight thing, asserting, that not above three or four houses were consumed, and about as many people killed: and yet he acknowledges that abundance of men had been ordered thither, and a great deal of pains taken to prevent their suffering at all by this attempt; which shews how great their apprehensions were, and how necessary it was to calm the minds of the people by publishing such accounts; but he depreciates their judgments very much, who took all these precautions, where (if they are believed) no mischief could be done.

This was the last attack of the kind that was made this year; and though, upon the whole, not only the English, but the confederates in general reaped very considerable advantages, from their ruining in this manner all the enemy's coasts, while their squadrons were shut up in their ports, and in no capacity to undertake any thing; yet, on the return of the fleet, the council thought fit to examine into the conduct both of the officers and engineers, who charged each other reciprocally with want of skill, or want of zeal; but, upon a long and strict examination into the matter, it was found, that their want of unanimity was the greatest misfortune; and it appeared so plainly, that, by proper management, the French ports might be ruined, notwithstanding the mighty pains and immense expence employed in fortifying them, that it was resolved to prosecute the same method; and it was particularly recommended to Mr. Meesters, not only to be more careful in providing for the supply of his machines with whatever was necessary for their acting effectually, but also to secure a sufficient number of experienced pilots, for want of which both the attempts on Dunkirk had miscarried.

That respect which is due to truth, and the information without reserve of our readers, will not permit the passing over in silence some misfortunes that fell out this year at sea. When the French court found that, notwithstanding the vast expence they had been at in order to raise a maritime power, they were yet unable to look the English and Dutch in the face, they very prudently gave leave to many of their sailors to enter on board privateers, which enabled them to disturb our trade, and to enrich themselves. The marquis of Caermarthen, who had the command of a squadron stationed off the Scilly islands, was so unlucky as to mistake a fleet of merchantmen for the Brest squadron; whereupon, without taking any pains to be satisfied whether he was, or was not in the right, he retired immediately into Milford-haven, which exposed the Barbadoes fleet in such a manner, that many of them were lost, two East India ships were taken at sea, and three more were either burnt or taken near Galway in Ireland, by some privateers acting under King James's commission. These five ships, Bishop Burnet tells us, were worth a million, and therefore we need not be surprised, that by the loss of them, which affected so many people, a great clamour was raised among the merchants.

The admiralty excused themselves by producing the instructions given to the marquis of Caermarthen, and other officers; but, notwithstanding all that could be said, it appeared incontestibly, that the true source of our losses in this respect, and of the French success, was their having so good intelligence of all our motions; whereas it never appeared, that, with all the money spent for this pursose, we had any tolerable accounts of theirs. How far this was owing to their diligence and dexterity, and how far to our indolence and treachery, is what I shall not pretend to determine, but content myself with observing, that in a time of war, no money is so ill spared as that which might be employed in gaining early notice of an enemy's preparations; for though their designs may, yet those can never be hidden.

But, in some measure to balance these, we may have leave to mention a few acts of extraordinary courage and conduct, which our own countrymen performed; and which, if it were for their singularity only, deserve to be remembered. On the 30th of May, 1695, as one William Thompson, master of a fishing boat belonging to the port of Pool in Dorsetshire, was fishing near the island of Purbeck, with only one man and a boy, and perceiving a privateer of Cherbourg to bear down upon him, he was so far from avoiding the enemy, that he made ready to defend himself the best way he could with two little guns, which he had mounted, and some small arms; and with so inconsiderable a force behaved himself with such success, that in a little time he wounded the captain, the lieutenant, and six more of the French, which so discouraged the rest, that they bore away. But then, in his return, Thompson gave chace to the privateer, fired upon her for two hours together, and at length made the enemy strike, beg for quarter, and surrender; Thompson, thus victorious, brought away the sloop with fourteen prisoners (of which the captain was one), having left two more at Corfe-Castle, and carried her into Poole harbour. This privateer had two patareroes, several small arms and grenadoes, and sixteen men. For this gallant exploit, the lords of the admiralty gave Captain Thompson a gold chain and medal, of the value of fifty pounds, and made him a present also of the vessel he had taken.

Their lordships, not long after, gave a like chain and medal to Mr. Williams, who was likewise master of a fishing-smack belonging to Whitsund-bay, for retaking several vessels after they had fallen into the hands of French privateers. These rewards had such an effect, that Captain Peter Jolliffe, in a small hoy, called the Sea Adventure, perceiving a French privateer in the island of Purbeck make prize of a fishing-boat belonging to Weymouth, boldly attacked him, though of three times his strength, and having first obliged him to quit his prize, afterwards forced him on shore near the town of Lulworth, the people of which made themselves masters of the vessel, and took the crew prisoners; for which brave exploit, Captain Jolliffe was honoured also with a gold chain and medal. Several other actions of this sort gave reputation to the English seamen, and plainly shewed, that nothing but divisions in our councils, and factions in our fleets, hindered us from succeeding in our designs of making a descent on the coast of France, and revenging the injuries done our commerce by the privateers of that nation: a design every way just and reasonable, since the French king not only furnished those privateers with seamen, but also employed his own ships in this kind of piratical war, and caused several medals to be struck on the success of it: but whether these will transmit his glory or shame to posterity, I leave every impartial reader to determine.*

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* I have always looked upon this as the strongest proof of the rectitude of those councils, to which were owing the bombardment of the French coasts; and therefore I think it may not be amiss to give the reader some instances in support of what is delivered in the text. Every body knows how fond the French king was of causing the remarkable actions of his reign to be recorded by medals; and therefore their testimony is unexceptionable. On the taking the India ships formerly mentioned, there was a medal struck, representing these vessels unlading, and their cargoes taken from the slaves who brought them on shore, by a man completely armed, with this inscription, *Indicæ hostium opes interceptæ*; *i. e.* The treasures of the Indies taken from the enemies. In the exergue, 1695. Upon John Du Bart's destroying a squadron of the Dutch ships, another medal appeared, on which was represented the

The campaign in Flanders being over, King William returned to England, and on the eleventh of October arrived at Kensington, and immediately after published a proclamation, by which he dissolved the parliament, and called a new one, which was to meet on the twenty-second of November following. About the same time Sir George Rooke received orders to proceed, with all expedition to the fleet, with the squadron under his command. He was on this occasion declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, with instructions to protect the English commerce, to annoy the enemy, and, in case they passed the Straits, to follow them with the whole fleet, or a strength proportionable to theirs.

Sir George parted from the English coast on the sixteenth of October 1695, with seventy sail of men of war and merchantmen under his command, and in thirty-eight days arrived safely in the bay of Cadiz. There he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the securing the safe return of the Turkey fleet, and protecting every where the English trade from the danger to which it stood exposed from the French privateers; but, as to the latter part of his instructions, he found himself scarcely in a capacity to carry them into execution, the force he had in the port of Cadiz being much inferior to the strength he knew the French had at Toulon, and therefore he was obliged to provide the best he could for his security

Batavian lion, prostrate on the ground, the genius of Holland sitting on his back, and looking with an air of distraction towards a ship at sea, with this legend, *Incensis aut captis hostium navibus oneratis triginta, bellicis tribus*; that is, Thirty merchant ships, and three men of war, belonging to the enemy, either burnt or taken. In the exergue, *ad Texellum*, 1695. A medal was also struck on the fruitless bombarding of Dunkirk, which shewed of how great importance the French king thought that nest of pirates. Histoire de Louis XIV. Gerard Van Loon Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, tom. iv.

there: many of the great English ships, and most of the Dutch under his command, being so foul, that it would have been unsafe to have hazarded them in an engagement. In this situation Sir George Rooke remained for some time, and then received his Majesty's commands to return for England.

We are now to enter on the transactions of 1696, a year in which both the French and the allies were resolved to exert their greatest skill and utmost force for continuing the war, though they were both heartily weary of it, and had sufficient reasons to wish for peace. At home our party-debates ran much higher than ever. The Tories were formed into a fixed and constant opposition to the government. making it a capital point of patriotism to perplex public affairs; the English merchants were exceedingly uneasy at the losses they had sustained in trade, and all Scotland was in confusion on account of the opposition given to the project they had formed for establishing an East India Company, and making also a settlement in the West Indies, at Darien. To these sources of uneasiness there were added many others, some of greater and some of less importance: among the former may be reckoned the business of a general re-coinage; and, among the latter, an epidemic corruption, which had spread itself through almost every office in the kingdom, equally to the discredit of the government, and oppression of the people.

While, therefore, the parliament directed its councils to the finding out remedies proper for so many and so great evils, the French were contriving (as indeed it was but natural they should) how they might turn our domestic disputes most to their own advantage, and at last projected the means to set on foot a conspiracy here. while they were preparing there all things necessary for the making a formidable invasion. Thus at the close of the war they made, as their policy commonly is, vast efforts, as well in hopes of carrying their point, as to justify their departure from it, in case, after so bold an attempt, they should meet with fresh disappointments.

It was pretty early in the winter that the French king formed the project of invading England, and by this means restoring King James. But the first suspicion that was had here of his design, arose from his making a grand promotion of sea-officers, and amongst them no fewer than twenty captains of men of war; which looked as if they did not intend to let their fleets be idle, as they had done for two years past: and what greatly alarmed the nation was, that we had no considerable naval force at home to oppose them. Their greatest preparations being at Toulon, confounded our politicians not a little, and served to keep their attention fixed to the Mediterranean.

But in the beginning of January, 1696, the French scheme began to unfold itself, by the early sailing of a fleet to Dunkirk. It was usual for them to send a large number of victuallers thither in the winter, escorted by a small squadron of men of war. But the fleet now sent was much greater than formerly, and the squadron, that sailed with it as an escort, consisted of seventeen men of war. Soon after this, an army of twenty thousand men, drawn with all possible silence from the adjacent garrisons, was brought down to the sea coasts, and five hundred transports, provided with extraordinary diligence and secrecy, in order to carry over the greater part of them to England, while most of our large ships were laid up, and the rest either in the Mediterranean, or refitting here, in order to be sent thither. So that hitherto all things seemed to favour the views of the enemy, who were not a little rejoiced at an accident that happened at Gillingham in the river Medway, where the Royal Sovereign took fire, and was totally consumed, though without prejudice to any of the ships which lay near her.*

It was the intention of Louis XIV. to have embarked at Dunkirk, 16,000 men, who were to be commanded by King James in person, and under him by the marquis of Harcourt, then lieutenant-general, and afterwards marshal of France. This embarkation was to have been escorted by two strong squadrons under the marquis of Nesmond and John Du Bart, all which might have been executed, if bad weather and contrary winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the duke of Berwick, Sir George Berkley, and some other experienced officers, were sent over to dispose the malecontents here to perform their part in this undertaking. But, when all things were supposed to be in perfect readiness, the whole scheme was happily discovered, and on the twenty-fourth of February the king came to the House of Peers, sent for the Commons, and in a set speech informed them of the whole affair.*

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* I have met with the following account of this accident, which is very curious, in a pocket-book of an old seaman, who some time belonged to her:

"January 29, 1696. The Royal Sovereign was the first great ship that was ever built in England; she was then designed only for splendour and magnificence, and was in some measure the occasion of those loud complaints against ship-money in the reign of King Charles I. but, being taken down a deck lower, became one of the best men of war in the world, and so formidable to her enemies, that none of the most daring among them would willingly lie by her side. She had been in almost all the great engagements that had been fought between England and Holland, and, in the last fight between the English and French, encountering the Wonder of the World, she so warmly plied the French admiral, that she forced him out of his three-decked wooden castle, and chacing the Royal Sun before her, forced her to fly for shelter among the rocks, where she became a prey to lesser vessels, that reduced her to ashes. At length, leaky and defective herself with age, she was laid up at Chatham, in order to be rebuilt; but, being set on fire by negligence, she was, upon the twenty-seventh of this month, devoured by that element, which, so long and so often before, she had imperiously made use of as the instrument of destruction to others."

At the same time orders were given for assembling, with the utmost diligence, the greatest number of ships possible; and Admiral Russel, after having assisted at a board of admiralty, where proper instructions were prepared, went down to Deal, and on the twenty-fifth of February hoisted the union flag on board the Victory, and in a few days stood over to the coast of France, having under his command upwards of fifty ships of the line, English and Dutch, at a time when the French believed we could not assemble ten; which extraordinary expedition confounded all their designs, and rendered the invasion absolutely impracticable, after all the pains and expence that had been for some months employed about it.*

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* As I do not enter any farther into the history of these times, than is absolutely necessary to the understanding the facts I relate, so I chose to give this, and other passages of a like nature, from the most authentic pieces I have met with. The following concise detail of the conspiracy was published in the London Gazette, No. 3161, with the king's speech, and the joint address of both Houses:

"By the great mercy of God a discovery has been made of a most horrid and detestable conspiracy, in which many wicked and traitcrous persons were engaged to assassinate his Majesty when he went abroad. At the same time a rising was intended within the kingdom, and an invasion from France; to which end divers French troops were drawn towards Dunkirk and Calais, and transport-vessels and boats were got together at those places, of all which his Majesty having received several concurring informations and advices, orders were given for apprehending the conspirators; many of whom have been already seized, and such strict search is made after the rest, that it is hoped few or none of them will escape the hands of justice. The forces in England are in a readiness to march, and a considerable body of his Majesty's troops in Flanders lie ready to embark at Ostend. Admiral Russel is in the Downs with a squadron of his Majesty's ships, who will be daily reinforced by other men of war from the river and Spithead. And the care that has been taken for the defence and safety of the kingdom will, we doubt not, with the blessing of God, be sufficient to disappoint the designs of our enemies."

On the twenty-eighth of February the admiral came to an anchor off Gravelin, with part of the fleet, and Lord Berkley, with a squadron under his command, lay between him and Dunkirk. As the admiral passed by Calais, he perceived the harbour crowded with all sorts of small vessels for the intended embarkation of the French troops. As for the seventeen men of war, which were to have escorted them, thirteen were run in as close to the pier of Dunkirk as possible, and proved to be all large ships. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with some other experienced officers, were sent to look upon them, to see if there was any possibility of burning them or not: but, after a long consultation with Mr. Meesters and the engineers, it was declared to be impracticable; and thereupon the admiral determined to quit that station, and return into Dover road, leaving a squadron under Sir Cloudesley Shovel to watch the motions of the enemy.

This squadron continued cruising in the Downs all the month of March, without attempting any thing; but, towards the end of the month, being reinforced with several Dutch ships, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels, he received orders, on the second of April, to undertake the bombardment of Calais; in pursuance of which he immediately came before that town, and made the necessary dispositions for executing those orders. On the third the bomb-vessels began to fire about noon, and continued firing till evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcasses fell either in the town, or among the ships in the harbour, with such effect as to kindle fires in both, and must certainly have done a great deal of mischief. But as most of the bomb-vessels and brigantines had their rigging destroyed, and their mortars dismounted, the wind too blowing very hard from the shore, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having left a squadron to keep in the French men of war at Dunkirk, returned into the Downs, where he received orders on the 11th of April to join the grand fleet at Spithead. But, before he could execute these orders, Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs with his fleet from the Straits, and took upon him the command.

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* On the twenty-fourth of February there were but eleven ships in the Downs, and by the twenty-eighth the admiral had with him one first-rate, twelve third, twenty-four fourth, and three fifth rates, besides fire-ships, and the following flags under him; *viz.* Lord Berkley, admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudesley Shovel, vice-admiral of the red; Mr. Aylmer, vice-admiral of the blue: twelve Dutch ships under two rear-admirals.

All the views of France were now totally disappointed, and the English strength at sea became so formidable, that they were able to undertake little or nothing against it. Yet, to keep up the spirits of the people, and in some measure to embarrass the English and Dutch, orders were dispatched to the Toulon squadron, directing that it should immediately sail into the ocean; and at the same time John Du Bart was commanded to proceed out of the harbour of Dunkirk, with eight men of war and two fire ships. In the mean time Sir George Rooke arrived at Spithead, after having detached several of his cleanest ships for particular services, receiving there a commission appointing him admiral and commander in chief of the fleet. His instructions were, to remain in such a station as should be most proper for preventing the Toulon squadron from getting into any of the ports of France; upon meeting them he was to fight, and, upon his receiving notice of their getting into any port, he was to use his utmost endeavours to burn or destroy them there: or, in case he had intelligence of their getting safe to Brest, he was then to return to Torbay, and to remain there till he should receive orders.

On the 14th of May, 1696, Sir George Rooke, with the fleet, being on the coast of France, received certain intelligence, that the Toulon squadron was safely arrived at Brest. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that, as many of the largest ships in the fleet were very foul, and the whole much inferior to the combined squadrons in the harbour of Brest, they should immediately pursue the last part of their instructions, and return to Torbay; which accordingly they did, and there the fleet was soon reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen sail, of which, no fewer than eighty-five were of the line of battle.

A resolution having been taken in the privy-council as to the bombarding the French coasts, orders were sent to Sir George Rooke, towards the latter end of the month of May, to return to the service of the board as one of the lords of the admiralty, it being intended to intrust the fleet, or at least such a part of it as should be employed in the before-mentioned service, to the care of the Lord Berkley of Stratton, who had behaved so gallantly the year before. These orders reached Sir George Rooke on the 27th of May, 1696; but, before he returned to London, he received advice, that seventy French men of war were actually lying in Camaret-bay, with three blue flags, and a white one flying, of which he not only gave advice to the admiralty, but, on his coming to town, addressed himself to the duke of Shrewsbury, then secretary of state, to whom he made the following proposal:

"That the body of the fleet should lie in Camaret and Bertheaume bays, and a detachment be made to sustain the small frigates and bomb-vessels, while they went in to do what mischief they could. It was his opinion, that thus blocking up the enemy's fleet in their principal port, insulting their coasts, and burning their towns all at the same time, would expose them exceedingly to the world, make them very uneasy at home, and give high reputation to his Majesty's arms. And all this he believed might be done, if speedily undertaken, with the assistance of some small frigates, which were much wanted."

If this scheme had been immediately pursued, it might, in all probability, have been executed with success. But, after being laid before and examined by the privy-council, it was, at last, sent down to the fleet to be re-considered there by a council of war, when loss of time, and other accidents, had rendered it less practicable, and, therefore, we need not wonder that, upon this re-consideration, it was rejected.

Lord Berkley hoisted the union-flag on board the Britannia on the 3d of June, 1696, the same day that Sir George Rooke set out for London; but he soon found, that, notwithstanding his commission, he was very far from having the command of the fleet: for, having proposed to a council of war the attacking of Brest, which was the project approved by the privy-council, they resolved that it was, in their opinion, impracticable, as on the 16th of the same month, they did the same as to the proposal of Sir George Rooke, before-mentioned. His lordship being determined, however, not to remain any longer inactive, sailed on the 24th, for the French coast. On the 3d of July, the admiral sent the Burford and the Newcastle, with a fire-ship, to the island of Groy, with orders to land. On the 4th, the fleet came to an anchor about two leagues from Belleisle, and barges and pinnaces were immediately manned, in order to make a descent upon Hoat, one of the islands called Cardinals, which they performed, ravaged the whole island, and burnt the only town that was upon it: they did the same in the island of Hodicke, and brought off a great number of cattle. On the 5th, a great reinforcement was sent to Captain Fitzpa- ck, who had landed in the island of Groy, where they destroyed twenty villages, containing about thirteen hundred houses, took a ship from Newfoundland, and twenty small vessels, and carried off about fifteen hundred horses and black cattle.

The same day, Sir Martin Beckman, who was sent to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the isle of Rhee, performed his commission very exactly, throwing, in the space of one night, two thousand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcasses into the place, by which the best part of the town was entirely burnt down, with all their warehouses, and the goods contained in them, notwithstanding the place was very well fortified, and our squadrons sustained a very warm fire all the time. On the 7th, the same squadron, which consisted but of ten men of war, bombarded Ollonne, and in the space of a night threw into it almost two thousand bombs and carcasses, which had such an effect, that the town was seen to be on fire in fifteen places at once. After this, the admiral, not finding it convenient to land on Belleisle, continued to alarm the French coast till towards the latter end of the month; and then, through want of provisions, and the weakness of the fleet, occasioned by making several detachments, he found himself under a necessity of returning to Spithead.

The French affected to ridicule these, as they had done former bombardments, and the same humour seems very unaccountably to have possessed abundance of people at home. Even Mr. Burchet, speaking of my Lord Berkley's exploits, calls them LITTLE ENTERPRISES; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the French were grievously affected by them, their country being kept in a perpetual alarm. This the reader will easily discern, when he is told that, between Brest and Goulet, there were forty batteries erected on one side, and twenty-five on the other; that on these batteries were mounted nineteen mortars, and four hundred and eighty-nine pieces of heavy cannon, and above sixty thousand men, quartered up and down on the coasts to prevent the bad effects of an invasion. If France had been under no concern, such precautions would never have been taken; if she was, the bombardment that spread this terror must not have been such slight things as some writers endeavour to represent them, or, if they were, what were those whom they so frighted?*

It is agreed on all hands, that the care taken this year of our trade was so great, and the orders of the lords of the admiralty were so well executed, that our several fleets of merchantmen returned safe, notwithstanding the French made it their principal business to intercept them. In two instances, indeed, we were somewhat unlucky: the first was in Newfoundland, of which, an account will be given elsewhere: the other in respect to the Dunkirk squadron, of which the following is a very exact account: In the month of May, 1696, Rear-admiral Benbow had the command given him of a small number of ships, with orders to prevent Du Bart from getting out of that port. When the rear-admiral arrived before it, he found the French squadron ready to sail, and his own too small to guard both the east and north channel. He did, however, his best; but the weather proving hazy, and he cruizing before the north channel, Du Bart gave him the slip, and, having a fair wind, was quickly out of reach.

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* Histoire Militaire, tome iii. Memoires Historiques et Chronologiques, &c. But M. Devise, the French gazetteer, exceeds them all in his account of the matter. The exploits of the English, says he, are so extravagant, that they are scarcely credible, and their expeditions so pitiful, that they serve only to excite scorn and contempt. All they did during their stay at Belleisle was, to make a descent on the island of Grouais, a defenceless place, where they burnt a few houses, carried off a parcel of sheep, hamstringed one hundred and fifty horses, and killed the cattle in a church-yard: they burnt also a few houses in the islands of Houat and Heydic. In fine, continues he, the very powder that they have spent in these fruitless attempts must have cost more than the damage they have done amounts to. This was certainly very proper news for the court to publish, in order to keep up the spirits of the people; but an historian surely deserves blame who copies after such an author.

Rear-admiral Benbow resolved, however, to pursue him, and did so; but the Dutch, for want of proper orders, refused to follow him. Du Bart in the mean time executed his scheme, which was, to attack the Dutch Baltic fleet in their return home, which he performed on the 8th of June. This fleet consisted of upwards of one hundred sail of merchant-ships under an escort of five frigates. Du Bart took all the men of war, and at least half the merchantmen. In the height of this victory, the outward bound Baltic fleet appeared in sight, under an escort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked Du Bart, and forced him to burn four of the men of war, and thirty-five merchantmen, and to turn the fifth frigate, which had on board the crews of all the rest, adrift, so that she was re-taken; but, according to the French accounts, he came back after all with fifteen prizes into the road of Dunkirk.

Rear-admiral Benbow convoyed afterwards with his squadron, our northern-bound fleet to Gottenburgh, and thence proceeded to Hamburgh; and, returning homewards in the month of September, he had sight of Du Bart's squadron, and chaced him till he saw it was to no purpose: however, he had the satisfaction, soon after, of joining four English and eleven Dutch East India ships, which came north-about, and thereby escaped the French privateers, and luckily enough for them, even Du Bart himself, though they must have had sight of his squadron.

Thus ended the naval operations of this year in this part of the world, where we certainly disappointed all the French designs, did them no small damage on their coasts, kept the best part of their fleets blocked up in their harbours, and protected our trade better than it had been for many years past; yet, in the next session of parliament, which began on the 20th of October, 1696, one of the first things the House of Commons did was, to enter into an inquiry into the late miscarriages of the fleet, and this exposed Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel to several strict examinations, in which, however, nothing appearing that could be construed either as an omission or breach of duty, the affair dropped, and the house afterwards voted the sum of 2,372,197*l.* for the maintenance of forty thousand seamen, and of the two marine regiments, and for the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the registry of seamen.

ELSEA

END OF VOL. II.

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